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FBIS-EEU-95-122 *26 June 1995*

CONTENTS

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ALBANIA

Ministeer Briefs Press on Privatization Successes *[KOHA JONE 23 Jun]* 1
Court Reaches No Verdict on Gjinushi's Suit *[GAZETA SHQIPTARE 24 Jun]* 2

BULGARIA

Agreement With Turkey on Drug Trafficking, PKK *[24 CHASA 23 Jun]* 3
FRY's Jovanovic Views Sanctions, Minorities *[DEMOKRATSIYA 23 Jun]* 3
'Unique Weapons' Being Developed With Russia *[24 CHASA 17 Jun]* 5

CZECH REPUBLIC

Havel, Russia's Sergey Kovalev Interviewed *[Prague Radio]* 7
President Havel on EU's Eastward Expansion *[Paris LE MONDE 23 Jun]* 8

SLOVAKIA

Kovac on Privatization; Vows Never To Resign *[Bratislava Radio]* 9
Meciar on Hungarian Treaty, Privatization *[Bratislava Radio]* 9
Minister Compares Privatization Scheme With Casino *[NARODNA OBRODA 22 Jun]* 10
Meciar Hints at Countering CR Payments Decision *[NARODNA OBRODA 22 Jun]* 11
Schenk on SR's Role in UN, Framework Agreement *[SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA 22 Jun]* 11
Parliament Approves Law on Appointing GS Chief *[Bratislava Radio]* 12
Political Leaders on Current Situation *[Bratislava TV]* 12
HZDS, SDL Leaders Hold Talks in Bratislava *[Bratislava Radio]* 17

HUNGARY

Roundtable Assesses Threat From Bosnian War *[Budapest TV]* 18
Goncz Explains Signing of Austerity Package *[Editorial Report]* 21
Keleti Comments on Army's Financial Needs *[Budapest Radio]* 22
Dunai Supports Privatization of Energy Sector *[Budapest TV]* 22

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

Bildt: Milosevic 'Ready To Approve' Measures *[Sarajevo Radio]* 23
Silajdzic: UN, West Have 'Capitulated' *[Paris LIBERATION 24-25 Jun]* 23
Secirbegovic Accuses Butrus-Ghali of Lying *[Ashgabat ZAMAN 15 Jun]* 24
Will Demand 'Stricter Sanctions' *[Sarajevo Radio]* 25
Views Arms Embargo *[Madrid ABC 26 Jun]* 26
Muslims, Croats Discuss Sarajevo Blockade *[Zagreb TV]* 27
HVO To Help Lift Blockade *[SLOBODNA DALMACIJA 24 Jun]* 27
Bosnian Commander Optimistic About Success *[Sarajevo Radio]* 28
Muslims Ban Croat Municipality in N. Bosnia *[TANJUG]* 28
Sandzak Muslims Complain of Serbian Mobilization *[Sarajevo Radio]* 28
Local Mayor: People Complaining About RRF *[AFP]* 29
Daily: Washington Abandoning 'Moral' Position *[OSLOBODJENJE (Bosnian) 12 Jun]* 29
Karadzic Views Confederation, UN Hostages *[Jerusalem TV]* 31
Karadzic: Muslims Destroying Chance for Talks *[SRNA]* 32
RRF Better Stay 'Far Away' *[Zagreb TV]* 32
Karadzic Threatens To Halt Aid Convoys *[AFP]* 33
Promotes Seven Officers *[SRNA]* 33
Mladic Accuses UN of Aiding Government Forces *[AFP]* 33
Says Bosnia in for 'Long War' *[AFP]* 34
Buha Wants Changed Approach to Bosnia Problem *[SRNA]* 34
Pale Serbs Forward Deserter Names to FRY *[NASA BORBA 22 Jun]* 34
Milici Deserters Face Charges *[SRNA]* 35

CROATIA

Official Criticizes Yugoslav Support for Serbs *[Zagreb Radio]* 36
Dalmatia Officials To Levy Taxes on UN Forces *[AFP]* 36
Supreme Court Upholds Sentences on Martic, Babic *[AFP]* 36
HNS Loses Members to Ruling Party *[SLOBODNA DALMACIJA 16 Jun]* 37
Opposition Joins HDZ *[VECERNJI LIST 15 Jun]* 37
Martic Demands Croatian Withdrawal From Dinara *[SRNA]* 39
Martic: RSK Must Continue To Strengthen Army *[TANJUG]* 39
Martic Views Mikelic, Unification With RS *[OSLOBODJENJE (Bosnian Serb) 15 Jun]* 39
Discord Seen Postponing Rebel Serb Unification *[VJESNIK 10 Jun]* 41

THE FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA

WEU Expresses Concern Over Country's Stability *[MIC]* 43
'Incident' Reported Along Albanian Border *[MIC]* 43

POLAND

Walesa Departs for U.S.; To Meet Clinton *[PAP]* 44
Daily on Chinese Visit Cancellation, Trade *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 21 Jun]* 44
Okonski Chided for Officer's Praise of Kuklinski *[ZYCIE WARSZAWY 23 Jun]* 46
National Security Bureau Head on KOK Meeting *[Warsaw Radio]* 47
Human Rights Commission Membership Relinquished *[ZYCIE WARSZAWY 22 Jun]* 50
Coalition Almost Split Over TV Chairman Issue *[ZYCIE WARSZAWY 23 Jun]* 51
'Hostility' Seen in Coalition *[ZYCIE WARSZAWY 23 Jun]* 51
Journalists Issue Statement on TV Independence *[ZYCIE WARSZAWY 22 Jun]* 52
Solidarity Chairman Predicts Strikes in Fall *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 24-25 Jun]* 52
Sejm Approves Two Reprivatization Bills *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 24-25 Jun]* 53
Opposition Says Coalition Halting Privatization *[ZYCIE WARSZAWY 24 Jun]* 53
Movement Oppposing Kwasniewski Candidacy Forms *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 23 Jun]* 54
Poles Protest Actions of German Border Guards *[Warsaw Radio]* 54
Romanians Detained at Polish-German Border *[PAP]* 55

ROMANIA

Melescanu, Shumeyko Discuss NATO, Moldova *[Bucharest Radio]* 56
Officers Accuse Iliescu of 'High Treason' *[ROMANIA MARE 23 Jun]* 56
Craiova Gendarme Troops Reportedly 'on Alert' *[ROMANIA LIBERA 17 Jun]* 58

SLOVENIA

Drnovsek on EU Membership Process, Conditions *[Ljubljana Radio]* 59
Crime Prevention Agreement Signed With Austria *[Ljubljana Radio]* 59

YUGOSLAVIA

Federal

Ambassador: Croatia 'Covering Up Mass Crimes' *[TANJUG]* 60
Jovanovic: Peace Plan If Sanctions Lifted *[Paris LIBERATION 23 Jun]* 60
Interior Minister Comments on Citizenship Bill *[TANJUG]* 61
Sainovic: Economic Program 'Very Stable' *[Belgrade TV]* 62
Dinar Devaluation Threatens Monetary System *[TELEGRAF 21 Jun]* 62

Serbia

Jovic: FRY Ready To Recognise Bosnia Conditionally *[AFP]* 64
Democratic Party on Political Solution for Bosnia *[TANJUG]* 64
Officials View Settlement *[TANJUG]* 64
SPS Official Criticizes State-Run Media *[NASA BORBA 21 Jun]* 64
Interior Ministry on Operation Against Refugees *[TANJUG]* 65
Croatian Bureau Full of Serbs Avoiding Call-Up *[Sarajevo Radio]* 66
Novi Sad To Help Return Conscripts *[SRNA]* 66
Paper Reports 'Mobilization of Refugees' *[Editorial Report]* 66
Commentary: 'U-Turn' in Russian, French Views *[Belgrade Radio]* 67

Kosovo

Trials of 116 Former Policemen Resume *[Editorial Report]* 68
LDK's Hyseni Rejects 'Provincial Status' *[Editorial Report]* 68

Ministeer Briefs Press on Privatization Successes

AU2606083195 Tirana KOHA JONE in Albanian 23 Jun 95 p 11

[Report by Milto Baka on news conference by Albert Brojka, minister of industry, trade, and transportation, in Tirana on 22 June: "The Future of Transportation at the Crossroads"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Everything that has been achieved is thanks to privatization, Mr. Albert Brojka, minister of industry, trade, and transportation, said at his news conference today. Privatization is yielding significant results in all of these fields. In the domestic trade sector, more that 93 percent of enterprises have been privatized, or about 10,000 retail units, while about 700 remain, mainly in mountainous regions. Out of six foreign trade enterprises, only one has still to be privatized. This has led to a growth in trade.

Albanian exports are at present represented solely by clothing, shoes, and ferrochrome, but, nevertheless, amounted to $150 million in 1994. About 68 percent of the total value of exports this year was sent to Italy. Italy was also our leading import partner, followed by Greece and other countries. Imports were dominated by food and clothing. Agreements for trade cooperation have been reached with more than 20 [as published] countries of the European Union and treaties have been made with 20 others. In order to halt abuses, the entire freight transportation network has been privatized, Brojka explained, and only five truck and bus fleets remain, including the city bus network. Mr. Brojka paused here to criticize the one-hour strike of city bus crews as illegal, because total privatization has now been decided upon, and procedures for this have been found that are suitable and acceptable for both sides. Minister Brojka said that we must not forget that the state will continue its subsidies even after the total privatization of the city buses. Privatization will close a chapter in urban transportation, putting a stop to malpractices and improving the level of service, because the state incurs only losses from this essential service.

Shipping Fleet Remains in the Red

It is worth pointing out that transportation of both freight and passengers by sea has been totally privatized. The fleet consists of 31 vessels and only the last five worn-out, 35-year-old ships remain, which it is difficult imagining anyone buying. Passenger services are being operated by Italian and Greek companies and one Albanian firm. There is now a difficult situation involving about 140,000 metric tons of ferronickel that nobody will buy because it has rusted during transportation by Albanian ships.

Making Rinas Airport an International Hub

After the bankruptcy of Albanian Airlines, the state holds only 5 percent of the shares in an air transportation company based in the Netherlands. Nevertheless, the operations conducted by many airlines have led to passenger numbers reaching 40,000 in the first quarter of 1995, compared to 140,000 in the whole of 1994. Major investment in Rinas Airport to the tune of about 50 million German marks lies ahead of us and will be carried out in the next 22 months. This will improve the alarming state of the airport's runway and lighting and make it possible for Boeing 747s to land.

No Future for the Railroads

Although the rail network continues to operate, its traffic levels have fallen significantly to about one-twentieth of its former quantity of freight because of competition from the roads. The role of the railroads remains unclear, but a study of rail strategy prepared by the World Bank will soon be presented to the government. With the exception of the Tirana-Durres line, in which there will be investment to renovate 28 km of track, general investments in the rail network will be minimal. The sum of 3.4 billion leks will be invested for the Ministry of Industry, Trade, and Transportation, Mr. Brojka said.

Let International Firms Compete Freely

The state monopoly Albanian Telekom has begun the procedure of privatization with the assistance of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development. Our strategy, Mr. Brojka said, is to carry out privatization with a powerful and strategic partner in order to make it possible to carry out Telekom's master plan worth $250 million and to open the door to free competition among international telecommunications companies according to their quality of service. About $30 million will be invested in Albanian Telekom in 1995 alone, to be followed by a study of the rural telephone service worth about $70 million. I will conclude by saying that there will be 55,000 additional numbers by 1997, 33,000 of them in Tirana alone.

Joint Enterprises Have Not Proceeded Well

In general, Mr. Brojka stressed, joint enterprises have turned out to be loss-making, and foreign partners have exploited the state as an umbrella. Nevertheless, during the initial phase, these enterprises contributed to job creation and exports, using raw materials supplied by customers. In the future, it will be essential to privatize the Albanian portion of these enterprises with the help of privatization bonds. This will solve problems and disagreements among the parties.

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Will There Be Fashion Shows With Albanian Textiles?

Replying to this question, Mr. Brojka expressed his view that it is hard to say at the moment because our textiles are of poor quality and there are large stockpiles at the Berat Textile Combine. The development of the textile industry with new technology will no doubt lead to Albanian textiles appearing at fashion shows.

Finally

The news conference was clear and informative for the many representatives of the media, and we hope that it will not be the last of this kind, setting a positive example for ministers and heads of institutions in providing up-to-date and accurate information instead of "secrets" about the progress of the reform and the market economy.

Court Reaches No Verdict on Gjinushi's Suit

AU2606095195 Tirana GAZETA SHQIPTARE in Albanian 24 Jun 95 p 3

[Report by Ar. Ca.: "The Court Hears Gjinushi but Gives No Verdict"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Skender Gjinushi's demand for the files of the former Sigurimi to be opened has been left without an answer. After hearing the submissions and evidence of the Social Democratic Party [PSD] leader yesterday, the Constitutional Court withdrew without making any decision. Presided over by its chairman Rustem Gjata, the court has still not decided when it will make its judgment on Gjinushi's suit alleging "manipulation with the files of Sigurimi informers," raised some time ago.

Yesterday's court session began with the evidence Gjinushi has presented for "violations of human rights" in this case. He has also called on the court to consider anticonstitutional the articles of RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE calling the PSD leader a former collaborator with the secret police. However, Gjinushi's suit also extends to President Berisha. According to Gjinushi, the president of the republic and the chairman of the National Intelligence Service, were responsible "because of their inactivity and silence." Gjinushi told GAZETA SHQIPTARE yesterday that "President Berisha is head of a democratic state and must therefore make a decision as such."

Polemics over the delicate issue of opening the files began with the charges RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE raised against Gjinushi of being a former secret service agent. According to this newspaper, proof exists that the PSD leader, when he was studying in France, spied on his own friends in the role of a Sigurimi agent. To contest this accusation, Gjinushi has resorted to the Constitutional Court, without the assistance of an attorney, and is rebutting the charges by raising some of his own.

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Agreement With Turkey on Drug Trafficking, PKK

AU2606125595 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 23 Jun 95 pp 1, 3

["Staff report": "Ankara Will Hunt Kurds in Bulgaria"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Sofia and Ankara will conduct joint actions against the illegal Kurdish Workers' Party [PKK]. This became clear after the end of the talks that were conducted in Bulgaria between delegations of the two Interior Ministries.

Deputy Minister Musteshar Sanberk [spelling as transliterated] and Georgi Lambov, chief secretary of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, agreed on conducting joint actions against drug trafficking and on the more efficient treatment of Bulgarian criminals who are hiding in the emigrant districts of Turkey.

Our policemen will visit Istanbul soon in order to acquaint themselves on the spot with the PKK methods of action, drug trafficking, and the tracking down of Bulgarian criminals.

Hedget Manzir [spelling as transliterated], director of Istanbul Police, Chief Prosecutor Avi Belcin, and Mestan, who is the leading policeman in the struggle against the drug traffic, visited the Regional Directorates of the Ministry of Interior in Plovdiv, Khaskovo, and Kurdzhali. They spent three days in our country and left on 22 June.

In Kurdzhali, they were accompanied by General Milcho Bengarski, secretary of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. After signing the agreement, Mr. Menzir, Istanbul's police chief, expressed readiness to his colleagues of the three regional directorates to begin the use of telex and faxing facilities in tracking down the Bulgarian criminals. So far, this was done through the Interpol and was a long and costly affair.

There are six murderers and major financial criminals from the Kurdzhali region alone who are hiding in Turkey at present, sources at the Regional Directorate of the Ministry of Internal Affairs in Kurdzhali said.

The Istanbul journalist Mustafa Akaz [spelling as transliterated] told 24 CHASA that after a one-month investigation he has established that there are 2,000 PKK members in Bulgaria.

On 22 June, he returned to Istanbul, where he was interviewed by the newspaper KURDIE [name as transliterated] and the "Iylduz Television" [name as transliterated] television station, where he works. His video film will be included in a program on the transfer of Kurdish terrorists along the Istanbul-Sofia-Warsaw-Germany route.

Ivan Boyadzhiev, secretary of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, said on 22 June that we have no information regarding the training of Kurdish terrorists in Bulgaria. The Kurds in Bulgaria have a cultural-educational organization, but they do not engage in subversive activity. When they arrive in Bulgaria they are Turkish, Syrian, or Iraqi citizens. The problem is that we do not know who is a terrorist and who is not. We do not have enough information from the other side, Mr. Boyadzhiev said.

FRY's Jovanovic Views Sanctions, Minorities

AU2606114595 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 23 Jun 95 pp 1, 5

[Interview with Yugoslav Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic by Eli Yurukova; place and date not given: "There Are Serbs in Your Country, but for the Time Being This Is No Problem for Yugoslavia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Yurukova] Mr. Jovanovic, how do you assess contacts between Belgrade and Sofia, implemented during the visit of Bulgarian Foreign Minister Pirinski, and what are their results?

[Jovanovic] The contacts produced very positive results as well as the conclusion that mutual cooperation must be developed in order to turn the region into a zone of peace. It is a fact that two states that have no disputes could mark better progress. We established that the sanctions are an evil that affects the entire region and peace and negatively influences the prospects of resolving the problems in a political manner. Therefore, eliminating the sanctions would shorten the road toward resolving the crisis in Bosnia and achieving a general peace in Yugoslavia.

[Yurukova] So far, in all contacts with Belgrade, the international public has presented the issue in a reversed order—recognizing Bosnia and then eliminating the sanctions. Would Yugoslavia recognize Bosnia and the other Yugoslav Republics?

[Jovanovic] Yugoslavia has never seen this topic as taboo. We have always been ready to recognize all former Yugoslav republics that now are independent states after the political problems that emerged after their unilateral withdrawal from Yugoslavia are resolved.

[Yurukova] Is Yugoslavia near to resolving those problems?

[Jovanovic] The people that live in Bosnia-Herzegovina must contribute to resolving the problems. We could only help—and we are doing so. However, those are not the problems of Serbia and Montenegro, but the problems of the peoples that live there.

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[Yurukova] Yes, but the negotiations on those issues are conducted in Belgrade.

[Jovanovic] Precisely. The negotiations are conducted here, and I think that they are developing in a very positive manner, and we are close to a solution. However, prior to that, prior to recognizing Bosnia, we must agree on positively resolving the other disputable issues that are included in the same package: The Serbian people in Bosnia must receive equal status and guarantees vis-a-vis the Croat-Muslim federation; the Serbs in Bosnia must be free to form a confederation with Yugoslavia, precisely as the Croat-Muslim federation is doing with Croatia; the international community must accept the state continuity of Yugoslavia and lift the sanctions.

[Yurukova] Nevertheless, is not lifting the sanctions the main condition? Is a parallel variant, such as the one proposed by Bulgaria and Minister Pirinski in Belgrade, possible?

[Jovanovic] If parallel means gradually, then this is bad, because Yugoslavia fulfilled the conditions for the lifting of the embargo long ago. On the other hand, the international community long ago changed its position, according to which Yugoslavia committed an aggression in Bosnia. The international community and the United States admitted that a civil war is waged in Bosnia and that there is no aggression from outside. The sanctions are obstructing peace, and any gradual lifting of the embargo could also be an obstacle.

[Yurukova] If the sanctions were lifted this very moment, would peace automatically descend on Bosnia?

[Jovanovic] Yes, the war would quickly end and political talks on the basis of the Contact Group plan would begin.

[Yurukova] Does it mean that the Serbs in Bosnia will become more constructive?

[Jovanovic] Certainly, because then the main argument of the Bosnian Serbs would disappear, namely, that accepting the international plan brings no advantages, but only disadvantages. Lifting the sanctions would confirm that the Contact Group plan is the best solution for all Serbs, including the Bosnian Serbs.

[Yurukova] Has there been a recent warming up of Belgrade-Pale relations?

[Jovanovic] Relations among the Serbs are the same, because we are the same people. It is politics that makes the difference. We still differ in our politics, but we want to establish a political unity, and therefore we expect Pale to see the situation in a realistic manner. This is so because their legitimacy could be defended only in cooperation with the international community and not against it.

[Yurukova] Is this possible with politicians such as Karadzic and Mladic?

[Jovanovic] This is difficult to say, but you know that politicians could change their positions and remain politicians. Think of 'Arafat, Mandela, Makarios....

[Yurukova] Yes, but I am asking you whether one should not change Pale's politicians.

[Jovanovic] The politicians usually lose power when they dislocate themselves too much and for too long from reality. The difference between Pale and Belgrade is in the fact that the Bosnian Serbs have lost any contact with reality, and this could jeopardize their future.

[Yurukova] Did you talk with Bulgarian Foreign Minister Pirinski about the Bulgarian minority in Serbia and its problems?

[Jovanovic] We can overcome all the problems we have. The Bulgarian minority enjoys a status commensurate with the highest international standards. We heard that there are open questions. They could be resolved. We will review them in an active way and resolve them. The issue of the Bulgarian minority in Yugoslavia is being utilized by those forces in Bulgaria and other countries that are not interested in relations developing between Bulgaria and Serbia and want to draw a wedge between us. It would be bad if Bulgaria and Yugoslavia are affected by those attempts. Only our opponents will benefit from this. We are interested in developing our cooperation, and the minority must be a bridge in the process of bilaterally developing our relations. However, those issues must not be posed at international forums, because this supplies our enemies with ammunition.

[Yurukova] Do you know anything about any official Yugoslav document in Geneva that points out that there is a Serbian minority in Bulgaria whose rights are being violated?

[Jovanovic] This is the answer of the leader of our mission to the provocative statement of his Bulgarian colleague in Geneva, who abused the issue of the Bulgarian minority in order to discredit Yugoslavia. This was not correct and constructive. This was not a provocation on our part, we only wanted to compare the situation of the national minorities in Serbia. While those minorities are recognized in Yugoslavia, in Bulgaria they are not recognized as minorities, but as ethnic groups.

[Yurukova] Is Yugoslavia claiming that there is a Serbian minority in Bulgaria?

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[Jovanovic] No, no. There are certainly Serbs in Bulgaria, one could not claim that there are no Serbs in your country. However, we do not think that this is a problem in our relations. We must overcome the problems rather than create them. This problem does not exist for Yugoslavia. We have not defined the issue as a problem, but we will do so if certain forces in Bulgaria abuse the issue of the minorities. In such a case, we will state that this is an inadmissible interference in our internal affairs.

'Unique Weapons' Being Developed With Russia

AU2306114895 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 17 Jun 95 p 10

[Interview with Ivan Kolev, deputy chairman of the Interdepartmental Council on the Defense Industry, by Lyubomir Denov; place and date not given: "We Are Developing New Unique Weapons With Russia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Denov] Mr. Kolev, the visit by Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin to Bulgaria left us with a sincere sense of disappointment, since the greatest expectations were concentrated on the talks concerning the defense industry.

[Kolev] In my view, Viktor Chernomyrdin's visit went off quite normally. As deputy chairman of the Interdepartmental Council on the Defense Industry, I took part in the session of the Joint Bulgarian-Russian Cooperation Commission as a specialist in this field. The commission started work on the day of Chernomyrdin's departure. Within a few days we accomplished work that had remained uncompleted for years. Bulgaria stands to gain a lot even if we carry out only one-third of what was decided.

[Denov] Despite this, complaints are heard that Russia did not take the session seriously. For example, it chose a mere committee chairman as its co-chairman of the joint commission, whereas our co-chairman was a deputy prime minister.

[Kolev] Viktor Glukhikh was appointed by the Russian Government. His seniority as a chairman of a state committee is sufficiently high not to prompt any doubts.

[Denov] However, Glukhikh did not even come to Sofia, but sent his deputy instead.

[Kolev] The reason is that he was ill. However, the authority of his deputy, Academician Voronin, is exceptionally high. Voronin is a great friend of Bulgaria and has a detailed knowledge of our defense industry cooperation. Apart from this, the Russian delegation also included chief designers and bosses of big companies of world importance. None of them would have left his desk if he saw no sense in this partnership. For example, arms specialists from all over the world have deep respect for Academicians Obukhov and Makarovets.

[Denov] While signing one of the documents, Academician Voronin excitedly brandished a Bengal firework. He even called the occasion an historical event. Why?

[Kolev] I was not there when he said this, although I have heard talk of it. Well, you see, the Russians are emotional people, and express their feelings in their own way. It is another matter whether I would have lit a Bengal firework at that time, even if I had one.

[Denov] For four years now, delegations have been traveling back and forth between Sofia and Moscow. There has been plenty of talk about the deal to swap spare parts for the Russian debt, but nothing concrete has emerged.

[Kolev] This is no longer the case. At the session it was agreed that Russia would supply spare parts for our air force worth $50 million, which is one-half of the debt Russia owes Bulgaria. Moreover, they accepted all the delivery dates and quantities that our army specified. The bulk of the deliveries will be made this year.

[Denov] In Moscow last March Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev cited high duties as one of the main obstacles to restoring normal contacts between our arms industries.

[Kolev] The duties question is a very important and particularly complex problem. At our initiative, the commission discussed it very attentively.

One of the two permanent groups that we set up, namely the group on trade in special products, is preparing a mutually acceptable agreement to free from duties and taxes all goods delivered for the needs of national defense and the two countries' defense industries.

The intergovernmental commission will hold its next session in Moscow. We will do everything in our power to ensure that the problem of the duties is resolved during this session.

[Denov] Since $50 million of the Russian debt is to be used for our air force alone, when will we receive spares for our tanks?

[Kolev] First, I would like to point out that the deliveries for our air force have nothing to do with the high duties. In this case no trade is taking place; instead, it is a repayment of debt in the form of goods. The problem of duties will arise when we start buying spares and new weapons from Moscow.

[Denov] Will we produce new types of weapons?

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[Kolev] During the session we agreed on a list of 61 topics on which we will work together. Almost all our defense industry plants are taking part in the development projects.

[Denov] Could you tell us some of the topics?

[Kolev] For instance, we will develop new automated artillery fire control and air defense systems, and new systems for collecting and processing information. We will update certain radar installations and radioelectronic warfare equipment. The topics in the list also include equipment for tanks and armored vehicles, personal firearms, and ammunition. I wish to stress that they relate exclusively to top-level technologies.

[Denov] Can we expect to establish any foreign markets for these new developments?

[Kolev] I regard this question as irrelevant, since we are talking about developments that have no like in the world. For understandable reasons, I will refrain from specifying the topics. Of course, the new product has to appear at the right time, and must not be delayed due to poor funding. This will be our worry.

[Denov] Where will the new products be manufactured?

[Kolev] Almost all of them will be produced by the joint enterprises that we agreed to set up.

[Denov] Are these not a rather outdated form of cooperation?

[Kolev] We have nothing newer. Furthermore, they greatly simplify the problem of maintaining mutual contacts. For instance, Arsenal and Metalkhim Holdings will work jointly with the Russian Bazalt Company, thus avoiding a long bureaucratic chain. Only someone who has had to deal with the bureaucrats knows what we gain from this. Our Electron Consortium will cooperate with NIMI in Moscow and Splav in Tula.

[Denov] We have not received a license for the manufacture of new weapons from Russia for some time.

[Kolev] That is true, but we hold more licenses than any of the other former socialist countries. The main problem at present is that for a long time we have not obtained any amendments to these licenses to update them. This will be the first thing that the joint enterprises will deal with. As a result, we will gain both money and time.

[Denov] How will the new projects be financed?

[Kolev] First, a Bulgarian-Russian Investment Bank has already been formed, and it will have a promising future. The bank is already working. Apart from this, quite a number of Russian banks are showing interest and understanding for our problems.

[Denov] Before 1989 we not only imported but also exported goods to Russia. When will we start exporting our special products to Moscow again?

[Kolev] It all depends on the budgets of the two Defense Ministries and on the abolition of the high Russian customs duties. Prices and terms are matters for negotiation. I am convinced that our monopoly position in certain fields of arms manufacture to Warsaw Pact standards will inevitably enable us to regain some of our old markets. This is why the Russians are already showing interest in tank batteries, for example.

[Denov] Do we export any goods to other former socialist countries?

[Kolev] At the moment we are selling small amounts of special products, but these quantities will increase.

[Denov] Are you referring to ammunition?

[Kolev] Ammunition is not our best export product, apart from antitank grenades, which have a good market in the former socialist countries. Our communications equipment, optical, electronic, and radiation-measuring instruments, and radar stations are selling better.

[Denov] Mr. Kolev, what is the present condition of our military-industrial complex?

[Kolev] The sales situation could be better. Stagnation in the international markets is increasing, and the competition is tougher. Our receipts are somewhat lower than last year, but the trend toward stabilization continues.

[Denov] Did not Industry Minister Kiril Vuchev recently say he wants private companies to play a part in winning new markets for our arms products?

[Kolev] There is no change in the interdepartmental council's policy regarding trade in special products, which remains a state monopoly. At the moment no private company holds an arms trading license. Recently we issued an order prohibiting more than one Bulgarian arms trader from taking part in international tenders. Soon we will publish a list of products subject to export controls. In this way, we are taking an important step toward our acceptance into the new "Post-COCOM" [Post-Coordinating Committee on Export Controls] organization. The Council of Ministers has approved the list; it now remains to publish it in DURZHAVEN VESTNIK.

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Havel, Russia's Sergey Kovalev Interviewed

LD2506163995 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1215 GMT 25 Jun 95

[Interview with Czech President Vaclav Havel and Sergey Kovalev, Russian State Duma deputy and human rights defender, by correspondent Robert Tamchyna at Lany presidential residence; date not given: "Conversations at Lany"—recorded; Kovalev speaks in Russian with superimposed Czech translation]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Tamchyna] Now that parliament has not passed the bill on higher units of local administration, how do you feel about the fact that this bill failed to go through?

[Havel] Naturally I am very sorry that this happened because this has once again slowed and delayed the entire reform of public administration, which is evidently in our country's interest.

There are very few countries, if any, that have only one-tier local government on the level of communities and that have no higher level of self-administration.

The reform is essential, though. And the fact that the bill failed to go through clearly puts an indefinite delay on the reform.

In my opinion, this is the failure of the government coalition whose government policy included this reform. It is, however, also a failure of the opposition parties because, as far as I know, this reform was included in the policies of all of these parties. The parliament simply failed to agree, and I am sorry for it.

[Tamchyna] Mr. President, regarding the elections next year, do you think this bill can still make it to the parliament's agenda before the elections?

[Havel] At this moment I have no fresh news. I have no idea what the plans are. I am afraid, though, that this topic could be put off to the next election period. This will mean that it will once again be discussed in the run-up to the elections and that again and again there will be endless discussions as to whether there should be eight or 13 regions, or three lands. Because all arguments favoring all alternatives have already been voiced, they will be repeated round and again absolutely unnecessarily.

[Tamchyna] To end today's "Conversations," please allow me to welcome here your guest Sergey Kovalev, deputy to the Russian Federal Assembly, human rights defender, and the winner of the Homo Homini prize. Mr. President, if you please.

[Havel] [Passage omitted] I would like to put a brief question to Mr. Kovalev, even though the answer to it might not be very simple. What, in his own view, will be the best direction in which the Russian Federation should develop in the future? What does he believe in, and where can he see the best possible alternative? After all, it is not only I, but the whole world that is interested in this matter.

[Kovalev] [Passage omitted] Russia is now facing a choice. To continually face choices of key importance appears to be our historical ailment. The choice Russia is now facing is of exceptional magnitude. The point is that the so-called aggressive nationalism has been powerfully developing in Russia. This nationalism, pursued under the banner of patriotism, is sharply aimed at the West and at everything foreign. This nationalism asserts that there is a specific Russian path and specific Russian interests, both of which are regarded as admissible and that should even be defended by the use of arms.

Practically all of the leading politicians who run the country, including the president, show these tendencies.

This problem is dangerous not only for us, although it is our own affair. By the same token, it is also the affair of the whole Europe and the European Community and, as such, is also your affair.

Some indications of the way out of this situation have perhaps already appeared. I have in mind new proposals and positions of the Russian president and prime minister that, because of their peaceful nature, I myself did not expect. For the nation it is an outrage that these proposals materialized only after the tragedy in Budennovsk. It is an outrage that these proposals were prompted by acts of terrorism. Irrespective of this, they may mark a turning point because they have given rise to a certain, although not a very big, hope that the Chechen conflict could be ended. But we are facing elections.

I personally think that only the unification of democratically thinking people of the entire democratic spectrum can avert the change in Russia's foreign political orientation. Although this prospect is rather uncertain—as it always has been—in politics, just like in science, it is worth betting on matters that appear hopeless. Principal solutions can be achieved only by those who strive for them.

I regard Russia's problem as very pressing and urgent. Surely you are well aware of Russia's importance in the world. How would its present neighbors feel if an enormous nuclear Yugoslavia should spring up? But that is only one danger. The other danger could be linked to Russia's imperialist ambitions, which are also evolving at the present time. Only a civilized European

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development can counter these developments. Europe's efforts must be aimed at Russia's integration into the European Union. In any case, farsighted politicians of the world will have to understand the threat Russia and, subsequ ently, the whole world are facing.

[Tamchyna] Mr. Kovalev, Mr. President, thank you for today's interview. I look forward to the next interview. Good-bye.

[Havel] Good-bye.

President Havel on EU's Eastward Expansion

BR2306124495 Paris LE MONDE in French 23 Jun 95 p 4

[Interview with Czech President Vaclav Havel by Yves-Michel Riols and Martin Plichta in Prague; date not given: "Europe's Enlargement to the East No Act of Charity"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Prague—[LE MONDE] The 15 EU countries are due to meet in Cannes 26-27 June for a European Council session that will discuss, among other things, its enlargement to the east. What do you expect from this meeting?

[Havel] I think that Europe's enlargement can already be taken for granted. However, it is the pace and the form that have to be defined. It all depends on the 1996 intergovernmental conference, which will examine the structure of the new institutions and conditions for membership. By that time we hope to have submitted our official membership application because, at present, we are only an associate member of the EU. But we hope that our voice, like that of the other candidates, will be heeded in 1996 because we have something of our own to say. Enlargement is in the interest of the whole of Europe. We do not want it to be considered an act of charity. It is a challenge that has been presented to Europe. For the first time in its history, it has a chance to build its international order in accordance with the principles of political end economic cooperation on an equal footing.

[LE MONDE] Some people fear the short-term costs of integrating the candidate countries. What can the countries of Central Europe contribute to Community Europe?

[Havel] We do not want any subsidies to the detriment of the others; we want only our share of the cake. We want our products, which are seeking new outlets following the collapse of the artificial market provided by the former Soviet bloc, to have normal access to the European markets. We simply want to be a legitimate member of the family of European democracies in the economic field, too. I think that the fears about the cost of integrating the Central and East European countries are merely pretexts to conceal the lack of political will to enlarge the EU. The Czech Republic is not trying to join the Union in order to be flooded with subsidies. In any case, it would not even be in our economy's interest.

[LE MONDE] Do you consider that the war in Chechnya and the Russians' stubbornness over NATO's enlargement are signs of a slide toward authoritarianism in Russia?

[Havel] If we want to support democratic developments in Russia, which is in the whole world's interest, we must not ignore anything that is contrary to democracy. We cannot accept the war in Chechnya, which displays the characteristics of genocide. We cannot grant the present Russian leadership a blank check. That would be the best way of harming democracy. We must support democratic values more than certain specific individuals.

It is also necessary to state clearly that the Atlantic alliance can expand as it plans to do and that Moscow does not have the right to prevent us from joining NATO. Russia must be made to understand that NATO is not an organization opposed to its interests. The more there is a security vacuum in Central and East Europe, the more Russia will be tempted to maintain a zone of influence in the region. This would in practice be tantamount to a kind of division of Europe that is not in anyone's interest—and that goes for democratic Russia, too.

[LE MONDE] If East European countries join NATO without Moscow's agreement, are you not afraid that it will diminish security in the region instead of strengthening it?

[Havel] I do not think so. My impression is that hesitation always causes expansionism. A steadfast stance limits it.

[LE MONDE] By granting Russia "special relations," do you think the Western nations have in practice granted Moscow a right of veto with regard to NATO's enlargement?

[Havel] I have always been in favor of the existence between NATO and this Euro-Asian power, Russia, of close and friendly ties that could be made official in a treaty. But this must be achieved on an equal footing, without granting Moscow any right of veto with regard to who can and who cannot join NATO. It must be a relationship between two sides that want to guarantee peaceful coexistence, without any desire for supremacy in certain parts of the world that do not want to be dominated. [passage omitted]

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Kovac on Privatization; Vows Never To Resign

LD2306222595 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1630 GMT 23 Jun 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] From the point of view of foreign countries, the form of privatization in our country is not important. The important issues are the speed of privatization and the proportion of private property, said President Michal Kovac, answering the first question at a news conference in Kosice on 23 June.

The president did not speak directly against bonds. However, he remarked that it would be better if people could immediately exchange bonds for shares in concrete privatized companies without any further problems. According to the president, it is important that privatization be fair and that today's distribution of state property does not become a cause for future tensions. As an example of a possible outcome of privatization, he mentioned a situation in which 500 or 1,000 families become owners of property worth hundreds of billions.

Our Kosice correspondent Miroslav Lukac has more details from the news conference.

[Lukac] Asked what is, in his view, the possible solution to the conflict between him and the prime minister and parliament, Kovac said that there were, in principle, two possible outcomes: either those who undertook to liquidate the president give up their intention or citizens will have to decide the matter. The president did not mention a third possibility. [passage omitted]

At the news conference, the president expressed his resolve to continue to criticize the concentration of power and diversions from the principles of democracy.

The president used even more resolute words when speaking at a rally with Kosice citizens about efforts to dismiss him. He said the head of state in Slovakia had been hunted for more than 18 months and that such a hunt was apparently unprecedented in Europe. He said he believed that the majority of people would view his resignation as the defeat of decency and the victory of arrogance or as the defeat of truth and honesty and the victory of lies and dirt. [passage omitted]

My resignation from the post of president would be considered by many decent people as a betrayal and an act of cowardice. I shall never do that, said Michal Kovac at a rally with Kosice citizens during his working visit to Kosice.

Meciar on Hungarian Treaty, Privatization

LD2306225595 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1600 GMT 23 Jun 95

[Regular Friday interview with Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by Correspondent Magda Pospisilova on 23 June—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Pospisilova] The National Council of the Slovak Republic on 14 June ratified the [Council of Europe] Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities. You have pointed out several times that this is the first prerequisite for ratification of the Slovak-Hungarian treaty by our parliament. In spite of that, some people believe that there is still a possibility that the treaty with Hungary will not be ratified because there still does not exist a joint Slovak-Hungarian interpretation of the treaty, especially of its part relating to the well-known [Council of Europe Recommendation No.] 1201. Are you going to suggest to Hungarian Prime Minister Gyula Horn the adoption of any joint memorandum relating to this interpretation?

[Meciar] [Passage omitted] It is important to note that the representatives of the Hungarian political parties did not support the framework convention during parliamentary debate. This is not wise because, by doing so, they are proving that their political goals reach beyond valid and generally accepted European standards. Such valid standards stipulate rights and duties. They also define sanctions for their violation. The Slovak Republic has met all international conditions in the sphere of international law, so the problems of national minorities' rights in Slovakia need not be mentioned any more in other than a positive sense.

With regard to parliamentary mathematics, this is clear, and the concerns about the ratification are unnecessary. We calculated the minimum likely number of votes in favor of this document at the time we were getting ready to sign it. The number arrived at guarantees that the treaty will be ratified by parliament. [passage omitted]

[Pospisilova] Criticism is being voiced from several quarters by those who say that never before has privatization been so veiled, so untransparent as it is currently—partly due to the fact that the National Property Fund is not controlled by anybody or anything. [passage omitted]

[Meciar] [Passage omitted] Control institutions and mechanisms are sufficient.

[Pospisilova] However, a possible objection is that they are in your hands.

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[Meciar] This objection is invalid because I have only one pair of hands.

[Pospisilova] I mean in the hands of your coalition.

[Meciar] This is the issue of what position the opposition has chosen. They have not been willing to get involved. This means it is their problem. An offer has been made, and we have even asked them to carry out privatization themselves. They did not want to. Only now, when it is becoming clear that our state is consolidating, that in the economic and social spheres the state is gaining ground, is there a stir in our political life caused by the fact that things are going well again. At the time when nobody was sure that things would go well, nobody wanted to participate in the government. This means that, as things are currently being put in order, the process has to be in somebody's hands. The present situation is the result of our citizens' democratic decision in the elections, the result of political parties' ability to reach a consensus. Those who were not willing to reach a consensus can now blame the leadership of their parties. We have not ever excluded anybody from anything.

However, the opposition must understand that we will no longer sign blank checks as we did in the past when we, for instance, elected Mr. [Peter] Weiss [Party of the Democratic Left chairman] to the post of deputy chairman of the National Council and Mr. Ludovit Cernak to the post of deputy chairman of the National Council, and later on they attacked us from their posts, attacked those who elected them. It must be a case of serious agreements on cooperation, and that, of course, involves a share in the executive power linked to a share of responsibility because one cannot be involved without sharing in responsibility. [passage omitted]

Minister Compares Privatization Scheme With Casino

AU2306175995 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 22 Jun 95 pp 1, 5

[Interview with Slovak Economy Minister Jan Ducky "prepared by" Alica Durianova in Bratislava; date not given: "How Will the Bonds Casino Operate?"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Bratislava—According to Economy Minister Jan Ducky, the bonds that citizens receive can also be exchanged directly in the National Property Fund [FNM] for shares in companies. "How will this work?" we asked the minister. Personally, we find it hard to imagine how the Fund will cater to the demands of 3.5 million citizens for various shares from the FNM's portfolio. [passage omitted]

[NARODNA OBRODA] I have already heard from some mayors, who have said that their magistrates do not consider these bonds to be an adequate substitute for 10,000 korunas [Sk] [the value of the bonds citizens will receive in the new privatization scheme]. The towns need ready money, and, in their opinion, in return for these bonds, they will not get shares of a commensurate value in the FNM. This is to say nothing of this Sk10,000 in cash. So, how do you intend to compel the communities and towns to accept these bonds as an equal means of payment?

[Ducky] I assume that this will be resolved finally by the law on the sale of apartments.

[NARODNA OBRODA] So, the communities will be obliged by law to accept these bonds?

[Ducky] Yes. In accordance with the amendment to Law No. 92 on large-scale privatization. It will be discussed with the Association of Towns and Communities first. I imagine that this whole process will take place in such a way that, by the end of this year, people should already have these bonds.

[NARODNA OBRODA] According to what criteria will shares from the FNM's portfolio be allocated—in return for the bonds—to those citizens who apply for them?

[Ducky] This will be a matter for the FNM and the citizens who play this game.

[NARODNA OBRODA] Do you not think that citizens will be harmed in this game?

[Ducky] But they have absolutely varied options. It is like when you go into a casino. If I look and do not play, I will not win; or, I play and win, but maybe I will also lose. We are proceeding from the premise that everyone who takes part in the second privatization wave will get at least this specific stake. [passage omitted]

[NARODNA OBRODA] The list of strategic enterprises in which the state wants to keep either a 100-percent or majority stake is five pages long. Despite the fact that the Fund will not receive revenue from the sale of this lucrative property, do you think that, from the sale of the remaining state property, it will get enough money to satisfy all of its commitments, including the Sk38 billion for these bonds that are to be issued to citizens?

[Ducky] Yes. I am convinced of this, but a great deal also has to be changed in the FNM management's approach to this matter. We have now adopted material on consolidating the conditions of the first and second privatization waves. According to it, those who conducted privatization in the first wave and who comply with this state's levies can ask the FNM to consolidate the conditions. This means that, for example, they will be able

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to extend their repayment installments from five to 10 years and so on.

[NARODNA OBRODA] But, this means that, in the next few years, the Fund will get even less money than it is getting now, does it not?

[Ducky] Yes, but only in the next two years. This has been calculated—in the first two or three years, there should be some Sk500 million less in the Fund's revenue, but, as of 1997-98, the situation should begin to improve. [passage omitted] We are mainly interested in ensuring that these companies with new owners are able to compete. The payment conditions in the first wave were tougher. Therefore, we would like to promote easing them among those who request this and who comply with the conditions.

Meciar Hints at Countering CR Payments Decision

AU2606102695 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 22 Jun 95 p 2

[CTK report: "The Slovak Prime Minister's Point of View"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Canceling the payments agreement was a mistake by the Czech side. The Slovak Government will respond to it within a week; at the same time, given the new situation, it will also consider the expediency of the Customs Union. Slovak Prime Minister V. Meciar made this statement yesterday in reply to a question from the CTK and in reaction to the decision made by the Czech Chamber of Deputies. The Czech parliament's decision, made without prior consultations between the two sides, and the Czech Government's attitude toward the clearing balance arouse, according to V. Meciar, the justified impression that the Czech Republic wants to hang on to the money in the clearing account, which amounts to ECU130 million. "The Czech parliament could have avoided this. After all, we had proposed balancing the state of the accounts to zero and only then abolishing the payments agreement," said V. Meciar. He also confirmed that there is an ongoing discussion on maintaining the Customs Union in Slovakia and that doubts are being expressed about whether it is still advantageous and whether the two sides benefit from it. "It seems that, although they will gain some money by doing away with customs duties, Slovakia will lose three to four times more in reexports," he pointed out. "This is forcing us into more profound deliberations; the Slovak side will make a decision on them within a week," said the Slovak prime minister, without being more specific. He emphasized that, since the formation of the Slovak Government, several "highly positive" signals have been sent to Prague, but "there has never been any desire on the Czech side to make serious preparations and conduct serious negotiations."

The Czech Republic has not even kept to the agreement concluded in Prague by I. Gasparovic, chairman of the National Council of the Slovak Republic, and Prime Minister V. Klaus. According to it, following the revaluation of the Slovak koruna, the Czech Republic would stop trying to abolish the payments agreement. "We did this, yet it is not all right. As far as partnership reliability is concerned, we see that the Czech side is doing what suits it, regardless of the other side," he added.

Schenk on SR's Role in UN, Framework Agreement

AU2306205895 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 22 Jun 95 p 5

[Unattributed interview with Slovak Foreign Minister Juraj Schenk; place and date not given: "Collective Rights Contradict European Practice"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Foreign Minister Juraj Schenk has delivered a speech in parliament devoted to the 50th anniversary of the United Nations and to the standing of the Slovak Republic [SR] in this institution. On this occasion, we asked him for an interview.

[SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA] You pointed out that, by our activity in the United Nations, we are taking part in creating prospects for ourselves and the whole of mankind. To what extent can the Slovak Republic become actively involved in global policy?

[Schenk] We have been a full-fledged and equal member of the United Nations since 19 January 1993. In a very short period, Slovakia has incorporated itself into all of the institutions and programs within the UN framework. We hold several very important posts in these structures. Our representative was the chairman of the General Assembly's third committee. At the moment, we have a Slovak representative in the International Atomic Energy Agency; he is one of the members of the council of governors. We are involved in the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] peacekeeping operations in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. We took part in a similar operation in Angola, for which we received appropriate moral recognition. Slovakia is seen as an equal member of this large family of United Nations, which is very important for us, because, as a small country, we can thus involve ourselves more immediately in global events. This also gives us the right to have—gradually—higher ambitions. One of the manifestations of these ambitions is our intention to compete for the post of General Assembly chairman at the 52d General Assembly in 1997. We took an active part in all of the conferences, whether

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they concerned environmental protection, the campaign against AIDS, or international crime. I personally took part in the nuclear nonproliferation conference. What I want to say is that we attach appropriate significance to the United Nations, and we support the restructuring and fuller development of its functions.

[SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA] In your speech, you underlined the necessity of optimizing UN activity. Could the Slovak Republic also play a more significant role in this regard?

[Schenk] Each member state has the right to submit its proposals and, incidentally, to support the organization's activity with its own funds. There is a whole series of specific matters around which the interested parties are conducting bitter polemics. At the moment, for example, this involves the question of a veto in the Security Council, whether the right of veto for the permanent members of the Security Council should or should not be maintained.

[SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA] In parliament, you also talked about the issue of the Framework Agreement for the Protection of Ethnic Minorities. According to you, in no way is the implementation of collective rights being taken into consideration. Twenty-seven Council of Europe countries have already signed the Framework Agreement. If someone were interested in describing this document as a device for promoting collective rights, obviously, he would not succeed in Europe.

[Schenk] Absolutely not. The inadmissibility of implementing collective rights is stated clearly in the Framework Agreement. This has been confirmed not only by European practice and this first binding norm at the Council of Europe level, but officials from the U.S. Administration have also formulated such an interpretation of protection for the rights of people belonging to ethnic minorities. They emphasized that the only things it is possible to bank on are individual civil and human rights. Coming up with a vision of collective rights today means going against the current European standard and the endeavor for a proper solution to the given issue and stability in Europe.

[SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA] Next week, you will attend an EU summit in Cannes, and Slovakia will submit its application to become an EU member. Could you give us more information on this prointegration step?

[Schenk] Most of the work has been done. What I mean by this is the drafting of the detailed and structured memorandum that it is necessary to add, as a fundamental document, to our application. The application is a few lines on what the Slovak Republic is interested in. The memorandum is 12 to 13 pages long, with 15 or 16 chapters in which, among other things, the historical development of our Republic and people is related. There is also a detailed analysis of our economic development, in which our starting conditions and development trends are documented objectively along with a reference to the basic problems we will resolve in the time frame before our incorporation into the EU.

Parliament Approves Law on Appointing GS Chief

LD2306215595 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1630 GMT 23 Jun 95

[Correspondents Jarmila Tosecka and Zuzana Stukovska report on the results of parliamentary session "this afternoon"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Stukovska] The debate on today's last point on the agenda was complicated. It concerned the government-sponsored amendment to the Law on the Army of the Slovak Republic, amending also the so-called Conscription Law [branny zakon]. Opposition deputies criticized in particular two changes ensuing from the government's draft of the amendment: the change according to which the chief of the General Staff [GS] is to be appointed and recalled not as at present, by the president, but rather by the government at the proposal of the defense minister.

Another controversial issue was the proposal of a decree on the use of the Slovak language as the language of official communication in the armed forces. The opposition deputies said that the reasons for this changes were serving a specific purpose and that their aim was to strip the president of yet more powers. [passage omitted]

The amendment to the law on the Army of the Slovak Republic amending the so-called Conscription Law was approved by 76 [out of 150] deputies. The eighth parliamentary session will resume on 25 June.

Political Leaders on Current Situation

LD2506173295 Bratislava STV 1 Television Network in Slovak 1129 GMT 25 Jun 95

[Roundtable discussion, from the "Steps" program—live]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Announcer] Good afternoon, esteemed viewers. Today's "Steps" is the last issue of this program before the launch of the summer broadcasting schedule. Next Sunday, as you all well know, Slovakia is being visited by the Holy Father, and therefore there will be no "Steps" on that day. And,

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as I have already mentioned, the summer broadcasting schedule does not include "Steps." This means that the next "Steps" will be broadcast in September.

This is why we decided to invite today the chairmen or other officials of the political parties represented in the Slovak parliament to participate in our roundtable discussion.

Our invitation was accepted by Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar; Mr. Augustin Marian Huska, deputy chairman of the National Council of the Slovak Republic; and Mr. Jan Slota, chairman of the Slovak National Party. The opposition is represented by Peter Weiss, chairman of the Party of the Democratic Left; and, because Mr. Jan Carnogursky is not currently in the country, the Christian Democratic Movement is represented by its deputy chairman, Mikulas Dzurinda. Also with me here is Mr. Josef Moravcik, chairman of the Democratic Union, and the Hungarian coalition is represented by Mr. Vojtech Bugar, chairman of the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement.

Good afternoon, gentlemen. As you can see from the composition of our roundtable, its subject is self-evident: the current internal political and economic situation in Slovakia. [passage omitted]

Gentlemen, Slovakia became independent on 1 January 1993. There is no doubt that the economic situation in Slovakia has been significantly improving. However, you seem on occasions to be finding it very hard to be in contact with each other.

Let us open our discussion by attempting to assess the current internal political situation in Slovakia. Prime minister, it is your turn.

[Meciar] [Passage omitted] Assessing the current situation, we have to mention several facts. First, the economy of the Slovak Republic is developing, and it is developing well. Second, the state is capable of fulfilling its tasks. Third, we are emerging from the crisis of the past, and people's social situation has partly improved. It is still nothing much, but there are certain signs of improvement as regards average earnings and pensions, and the subsistence level bill recently passed by the National Council will come into force on 1 July. [passage omitted]

Slovakia is enjoying dynamic development. This means that there is no tension here due to economic factors, social factors, foreign policy factors, as [word indistinct] the aims and tasks are identical. The tension is created by the attitudes of people who are either willing or unwilling to accept the results of the elections. And this is the bone of contention. Whatever the structure, activities emerging immediately after the elections aimed at destroying their result [as heard]. This is the principal conflict in our society. No mature political entities exist here, and mechanisms that are being applied have no tradition; it is true that we have the constitution, but laws for its implementation have not been passed yet. This situation involves many political and development elements, legislative elements, political norms, toleration and tolerance as well as program issues. In fact, as we design a program, it is merely an antiprogram that is designed in response, not an alternative program to ours. This is why it is sometimes rather difficult to find understanding on the program basis. [passage omitted]

Once people's ambitions are fulfilled—and this is a very difficult task in our country—a calm atmosphere can be achieved. Calm can be achieved once constitutional mechanisms are harmonized and constitutional institutions work according to the letter of the constitution. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Mr. Weiss, what does the opposition think about this?

[Weiss] [Passage omitted] The party of the Democratic Left views the Slovak Republic as a homeland. We want people to fare well in this country. We would like to see our cultural uniqueness show itself, and, at the same time, we would like to prove that we need not walk long to get to Europe and that we are part of Europe. We only aim to achieve such civilizational and economic progress so as to become a real partner, as a country, as soon as possible.

We have seen that the economic and human potential of Slovakia is good and that we have good chances to make progress. Of course, these chances are affected by many things. They depend on the political culture and the ability of the government coalition and the opposition to communicate and on the use of all of the brain potential in this country.

We are pleased about the economic growth taking place for the first time in 1994. We are pleased that this happened at a time when the Party of the Democratic Left was, for the first time, in the government. However, one should not forget one thing—namely, the fact that the 5-percent growth in 1994 represented a 5-percent growth in 1993, while, after 1989, the average standard of living slumped back to where it was 20 years ago. Industrial output has dropped by as much as 50 percent. Agriculture was thrown off balance. An enormous number of people found themselves in a very difficult social situation. Moreover, privatization began.

In my view, it is in these very real conflicts and in the way ordinary people live and tackle their problems

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that we have to look for the primary sources of tension. In my view, the tension in this society is not due to any personal aversions between politicians. I believe that the fact that privatization is being carried out in a nonransparent way and that there is an enormous conflict of interests in this sphere are the particular reasons our society is not as calm as it could be. In my view, those who are currently in power are guilty of repeatedly offering incidental topics to society. We could well do without any investigation commissions in this country. In my view, the conflict relating to the president is unnecessary. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Mr. Dzurinda?

[Dzurinda] [Passage omitted] Tension and unrest badly affect industry. Let us recall political developments since the present government coalition came to power. I will mention them very briefly.

The parliamentary night [3 November 1994] was the beginning. It was followed by laws nationalizing private property. Then we set up investigation commissions. Then the attack on the president was unleashed, as well as an attack on the legitimately elected deputies, who were also legitimately elected according to the Constitutional Court. [passage omitted]

Let me quote five specific examples of bad consequences brought about by this tension.

First, let me mention December, when the net deficit of the state budget shot up from 1.3 billion to 8.8 billion [Slovak korunas (Sk)]. The first figure applies to the situation on 30 November and the second to that on 31 December. This represents a slump of Sk7.5 billion.

Second example. Two weeks ago, the election victor called on the president to resign and even emphatically repeated this call last week, while, in the meantime, the Czech parliament abrogated the payments agreement. Soon, we will trade with the Czech Republic by using dollars or marks.

Third example. Hesitation relating to the completion of the Mochovce nuclear power plant. [passage omitted] Even we, the deputies, are not allowed to know anything about the situation since the motion proposing that parliament should be briefed failed to get through because of the coalition.

Fourth and perhaps the most recent example of consequences of turbulent politics is the situation in privatization. As many as 3.5 million people bought coupon booklets, and the government kept promising them for many months that the coupon privatization would start on 1 July, even though in a cut-down form but still as a coupon privatization. Now, a few days before 1 July, we know that there will not be any coupon privatization in Slovakia.

Fifth example, by diverting and using our energy in conflicts and unrest we are not able to deal with fundamental economic issues on time. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] What is your view of the political situation, Mr. Slota?

[Slota] [Passage omitted] Our colleague Moravcik asked us to speak about specific cases. I have something specific to say about the president. In no way would I like to exaggerate this dispute just before the pope's visit to our Republic. However, as regards the consequences of the situation when the president of the Slovak Republic, an independent Slovak state, has to use headphones in his motherland in order to understand [ethnic Hungarian] citizens of the Slovak motherland, I personally consider this to be simply revolting. Excuse my language, but I have to use this strong expression because I like being straightforward. [passage omitted]

And I could mention other opposition politicians, above all deputies for the Hungarian Coalition, who clearly portray us abroad in strange colors. The latest case is that of a letter written by Duka Zolyomi or someone. This is something going far beyond anybody's imagination: How can somebody who considers the Slovak Republic to be his home and motherland smear this motherland in this way? This is really impossible to imagine.

There are people who say that the Slovak National Party is in fact playing into hands of these Hungarian irredentists. But look, it is high time that somebody at last should speak out in this state. [passage omitted]

Yes, it is high time for us to be proud. Somebody has to say enough is enough.

[Announcer] Mr. Bugar.

[Bugar] [Passage omitted] I can see the roots of the present situation in Slovakia elsewhere. They can be found in differing interpretations of concepts and in differing views on basic democratic principles. I agree that a majority system in parliament is democratic. However, even a majority must observe laws, and even a deputy for the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia cannot take the liberty to say that democracy is terror by the majority. This is what she said in front of 150 people. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Prime Minister, would you like to react to what has been said so far?

[Meciar] [Passage omitted] There are several unresolved ethical-political problems.

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The first ethical-political problem, which remained unresolved after the elections, is the case of the Democratic Union. This a matter of ethics and politics and not any political witch-hunt. You [Democratic Union] are in parliament thanks to election fraud, and it is up to you to come to terms with this fact in whatever way you want. You have not yet proved to society that it was not a fraud. You are trying to politically influence the police as well as other structures [words indistinct, crosstalk].

If you do not like my words, take me to court. I will be pleased to prove my words. [passage omitted]

Naturally, with regard to relations with the president, we cannot disregard developments in 1993 and 1994 and events after the president took the office, resulting in a rapid destruction of government structures—that is, of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia and of the government [as heard]. This destruction was carried out personally by the president. [passage omitted]

The function of the president still exists, but the one who harms it most is the one who is in the post. Nobody else. It is all his doing. As long as he is in the post he will behave the way he is behaving now. [passage omitted]

As for the other issues mentioned here, accommodating steps and so on, good heavens, there are always two ethics, and they are frequently made use of in our politics. One ethic for oneself and the other for the others. When I listen to Mr. Dzurinda, I feel like getting on my knees and praying to you, thinking, oh Lord, what a saintly man this is! [passage omitted]

You turn godlike, you think that you are the church, that you are the religion, that you, Christian Democrats, are everything [words indistinct, crosstalk]. Why then do you go out onto the streets and incite and prepare the ideology of political terror? You, Christian Democrats. You shout at rallies that it is necessary to scare people. You, Christian Democrats, claim that it is necessary to fight. [passage omitted]

With regard to historical credits, Mr. Dzurinda, your party is full of historical mistakes. You made mistakes during the emergence of our statehood. You impressed on people that the situation here will become like the one in the Balkans and that the economy and welfare will be under threat. Nothing of that kind happened. You opposed everything.

Was there coupon privatization in the first wave of privatization? Yes, there was. How did you carry it through? In such a way that you damaged the owners of investment coupons, the vast majority of them. We do not want to repeat your mistakes. Our program is different from yours. You have damaged agriculture, you have damaged industry. [passage omitted] And you, Christian Democrats, the worst thing you did—and I will never forgive you for this—is that you dragged the church into your flawed politics full of errors. You managed to drag into it part of the church. This is the most despicable thing you could have done to this state and this nation. You, Christian Democrats. You cannot be forgiven for this. Whatever you do, as a person believing in God and a member of the party having the development of the church in its program, I will never be able to forgive you for this. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Mr. Moravcik, please.

[Moravcik] [Passage omitted] As regards the Democratic Union—how can anybody dare say that the Democratic Union got in through fraud, to say it publicly? I am telling you, this is grossly irresponsible from a political point of view. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] It is your turn, Mr. Dzurinda.

[Dzurinda] [Passage omitted] Prime Minister, you concluded by asking us what we want. I would like to tell you what we want. We really want a calm atmosphere and a division of political power according to common sense, democratic principles, and our constitution. Wherever power is divided, the situation is good. Wherever power is not divided, a dictatorship exists and the situation is bad. In our view though, you, Prime Minister, seek to be obeyed not only by the government but also by the president, to be obeyed by the opposition, to be obeyed by the chairman of the Constitutional Court, to be obeyed by private investors, journalists as well as the commander of the General Staff and the head of the intelligence service and many others—in fact by all. This is Slovakia's present problem.

I think that it is you, Prime Minister, who are holding the key to this problem. If you accept the division of power, if you accept the constitution, you would accept that the president also has some powers, that parliament has some powers, that you have some, that the Constitutional Court has some, and that other institutions also have some.

I very much liked the concluding remarks of your first entry into discussion, when you admitted that there was tension in our society but said that it was linked to people's unwillingness to accept the results of the elections. This is how you put it. I really like your statement. I can tell you on behalf of the Christian Democratic Movement that we are willing to accept them.

However, I have to ask you the same question: Are you also willing to accept the election results—for instance,

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the result of the presidential election, Prime Minister? [passage omitted]

The fact is that the key to a calm atmosphere is held by the movement that won the elections, the key to a calm atmosphere is in your hands, Prime Minister. You should contribute toward making Slovakia a place where there is more discussion about the economy and fewer attempts to scare our citizens.

[Announcer] Mr. Weiss, please.

[Weiss] I would like to react but, Mr. Slota, if you want to speak, please.

[Slota] You know, Mr. Dzurinda, you really seem to me to be a symbol of hypocrisy. Perfect smile, smooth talk, trying to impose on everyone around that what you say is the utmost truth. The opposite is the truth.

I would like to say that I, too, would have no reservations about the presidential post and the president. Let him run around in the castle in his slippers for another 80 years. I would not mind it at all. [passage omitted]

The important thing is that, for example, President Nixon, who made certain lapses, or his administration or people serving in this administration of which he was the head made lapses, left political life without being given a vote of no-confidence. He acted honestly. Nobody had to tell him anything, nobody had to tell him to leave.

With regard to your words about the Democratic Union, I can agree that you got 250,000 votes. We keep talking here about secondary phenomenon. Let us talk about the primary one. I strongly believe that you did not have those 10,000 signatures.

[Moravcik] Mr. Announcer, I have to react to this [words indistinct, crosstalk] We have no doubts concerning the number of signatures, and this will be proved eventually. Nobody can demonstrate and charge us with fraud, which we did not commit. I strongly believe that democracy in Slovakia is, at least its foundations, good, and this will be proved. We have no worries concerning the number of signatures.

However, fear is spreading. Just talk to people who are to go to the police and who have to explain why they signed the [Democratic Union] petition list or to say whether they signed it. They are sometimes even asked why they did so. [passage omitted]

How will you excercise direct democracy if you scare people from signing something similar? They will not sign it. So this situation has social consequencs. What is at stake is not the Democratic Union. At issue is the negative impact this police action has on people's consciousness and on the state. [passage omitted]

[Weiss] I think we should approach the issue of the president in a rational way. I simply cannot see any constitutional reasons for the president to be dismissed. Nothing was presented that could be relevant in view of the article of the constitution that defines the circumstances under which the president can be recalled. There does not exist a 90-vote parliamentary majority on this issue. Please, just as everybody has to come to terms with those who are not to his or her personal liking, you too should try to come to terms with the fact that you elected the president as he is. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Mr. Deputy Chairman, you wanted to react to previous comments.

[Huska] [Passage omitted] We always wanted the president to be in a position in which he should act as a nonpartisan institution that is above party politics. He himself crossed the line, and, for over a year now, he has been acting as a component part of the present opposition. [passage omitted]

We really want Slovakia to be economically sovereign. To say it in different words, we want to be protected in order to prevent a situation in which foreign interests would prevail and destroy our possible steps aimed at optimal economic development in our country. We do not want all this to fall into foreign hands. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Mr. Bugar, it is your turn now.

[Bugar] [Passage omitted] Mr. Huska, you have mentioned that the press is not persecuted. The press can be persecuted so that the dailies close to the government are given subsidies, the others do not get them, and, at the same time, the cost of paper goes up. This is happening in Slovakia. Not to mention the fact [words indistinct, crosstalk] no, Mr. Huska, this is not ridiculous. It can be proved that Minister Hudec violated the state budget law on at least two occasions when, out of 58 million [korunas], he allocated at least 27 million to progovernment dailies. For example, he allocated millions of korunas to the SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA daily, which keeps attacking minorities. [passage omitted]

[Meciar] The Slovak Government welcomes the visit by the pope, and we are doing our best to ensure that he enjoys himself here. I want to appeal to you, citizens, to feel honored by his visit. [passage omitted]

Go and welcome the pope. You, believers, go and greet your shepherd. You of other faiths, greet in him a person seeking unity and understanding among all churches of the world, and those of you who do not have faith, greet him as a genius of these times, the messenger of humanity, understanding, and respect for people. [passage omitted]

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Let us welcome him with our hearts open, let us rejoice at his visit, and let us greet him everywhere he goes as a herald of Christianity, goodness, and humanity.

[Announcer] Gentlemen, thank you for your participation in this discussion.

HZDS, SDL Leaders Hold Talks in Bratislava

LD2306191295 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1000 GMT 23 Jun 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Political talks between the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] and the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL] began in Bratislava today. Those present at the talks on Tomasikova Street from the HZDS are the movement's leader, Vladimir Meciar, Deputy Chairmen Sergej Kozlik and Augustin Marian Huska, and National Council Chairman Ivan Gasparovic. The SDL delegation is represented by Chairman Peter Weiss, Deputy Chairmen Pavol Kanis and Viliam Sopko, and Robert Fico, chairman of the Joint Choice parliamentary group of deputies. Tamara Valkova has just sent us the following telephone dispatch from the meeting:

[Valkova] Hello. The meeting has just ended, and here is the first information I have obtained about the talks from HZDS leader Vladimir Meciar and SDL Chairman Peter Weiss.

Peter Weiss said that they assessed the meeting as a consultative one. The SDL does not rule out that in an area such as the drafting of territorial and administrative divisions these kinds of talks can continue. However, he added that a better idea would be to communicate with each other more often in parliament.

The topics discussed at the meeting were the law-governed state, democracy, privatization, and foreign and social issues. As to the question of the president, the SDL does not see any constitutional reason that he should be recalled. As far as the SDL is concerned, the question of joining the coalition is clear. As Peter Weiss said, they are an opposition party and, as such, respect the results of the elections.

HZDS chairman Vladimir Meciar also assessed the meeting as a consultative one. They have even agreed with Juraj Hrasko that these meetings will continue.

Both parties understand that it is necessary to find an agreement and that another clash will not help anyone.

The most important result of the talks is, as Vladimir Meciar said, that they see the coalition system as an open one. If the SDL changes its view, the way into the coalition remains open for them. [passage omitted]

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Roundtable Assesses Threat From Bosnian War

LD2606115795 Budapest Duna TV in Hungarian 1600 GMT 25 Jun 95

[Roundtable discussion with Hungarian Defense Minister Gyorgy Keleti; Istvan Szent-Ivanyi, political state secretary at the Foreign Affairs Ministry; Dr. Geza Jeszenszky, former Hungarian foreign minister; Miklos Radvanyi, introduced as a former political adviser to the U.S. Congress; and historian Emil Niederhauser, hosted by Zoltan Csaky; from the "Weekly Courier" program—live]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Csaky] A bloody war has been raging only a few hundred kilometers from Hungary's borders for one, two, and now three years. [passage omitted]

What is the bloody Yugoslav war about? Who can be held responsible for it? What kind of danger does this fighting—which continues only a few hundred kilometers from our borders—represent for Hungary? [passage omitted]

Szonda Ipsos [public opinion poll agency] has recently carried out a poll asking people what they know about the Yugoslav crisis and what they think about the danger imposed on Hungary by the Yugoslav war that is raging a few hundred kilometers from our borders. The relative majority, about 38 percent of the sample, thinks that the war represents only a small danger for Hungary, 30 percent are of the view that it implies a relatively large danger, 10 percent think that the country is very seriously in danger, and 12 percent thinks that we are in no danger at all. What is your view about the divergence in the public opinion, and what is your view about this survey?

[Keleti] It would have been good to know at which part of the country the survey was carried out, for I am convinced that those who feel a danger, or a great danger, are likely to live somewhere in the south of the country, and people living in Budapest or in Balassagyarmat, Eger, or Gyer feel this danger to a smaller extent. [passage omitted]

According to our assessment, the civil war—that is raging there, and that can be described with tragic statistics: many lives of children, women, and obviously soldiers, as well—does not imply a direct military danger for Hungary, because civil wars usually do not turn against foreign countries—an experience that follows from the nature of civil wars and that has been proved by history so far.

Danger, however, should not be ruled out entirely. Speaking in military terms, a threat below the threshold of war [haborus kueszoeb alatti veszelyesztetettseg] cannot be ruled out, but this can be handled by the deployment of the border guard and the army, if necessary. That is to say, Hungary here, in a region close to the war, can feel secure now, but there is certainly a need to be cautious.

[Csaky] I think what was said by the defense minister is reassuring. What is the foreign affairs state secretary's opinion about the survey?

[Szent-Ivanyi] I can only agree with the assessment by Minister Gyorgy Keleti. I think those who see a little danger are right. Hungary is not threatened by the escalation of the conflict here. Naturally, this conflict has continuously had negative consequences. This is manifest in the refugee matter, Hungary's economic relations with the south, and in Hungary's assessment by other countries. Our interest, naturally, is not only the prevention of the conflict's escalation to Hungary, but the solution of the conflict in the region. [passage omitted]

[Csaky] The survey also asked people what, in their view, international organizations should do in order to put an end to the Yugoslav war. According to the poll, 40 percent of the Hungarian public, that is almost half of them, are inclined to think that in addition to economic and political pressure applied so far, more severe means should be applied in order to put an end to fighting. Do you share this view?

[Keleti] This is a very interesting point that shows that the public demands a resolute and firm stand and, perhaps, the basis of this approach is what happened in the Gulf war, the way that conflict was handled. However, there are significant differences, not only regarding the nature of the military conflict, but regarding the natural features of the terrain and other circumstances, as well.

I think that the military application of a firmer stand urged by some of the viewers, or of those asked in the survey, is very difficult. Now a new position is taking shape—which I very much support—according to which UN forces should be given a firmer mandate, but not primarily for putting things right there, but for their own defense. For their mission can only be carried out if they, themselves, are not threatened by arms. Today's reports indicate that a French unit has made an attempt like this, that is to say, it has indicated to the—presumably Serb—forces that in the event of a military conflict they will give a military response to those who attack them.

The defense ministers of the Visegrad Four have recently met in Budapest. The other three countries, Slovakia, Poland, and the Czech Republic, have significant

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forces in the region. The ministers said that their greatest problem was that they could not defend their own soldiers. It is also natural that every country's government is responsible at home for the lives of their own soldiers serving in UN forces. [passage omitted]

[Szent-Ivanyi] When the public demands a firmer military action, it does not think that Hungary should act here, and I fully agree with this. Hungary, for various reasons, must not be involved in this war in any military form. The public is urging NATO or leading Western powers to put things in order. But these countries also have their own public opinion. [passage omitted]

[Keleti] Excuse me, let me add something here. I do not consider the UN's military activity a complete failure. The fact that aid consignments could be sent to the region with the assistance of UN troops saved the lives of tens of thousands of people. [passage omitted] I am aware of the fact that these are not military achievements, but the UN forces stationed there have no other option at the moment. [passage omitted]

[Szent-Ivanyi] Slightly simplifying the situation, there are three solutions available. The first is that everything remains as it has been so far. This is obviously the least favorable solution, and this is why the reconsideration and extension of the UN forces' mandate has become necessary. This solution will only lead to a new Cyprus, a new Middle East, a situation that cannot be solved even for 30 years.

The second solution, about which Miklos Radvanyi spoke, is the acceptance of the fact that external forces cannot promote a peaceful solution; therefore, the region should be left alone, and let things be decided by local forces. This is not an attractive solution, but it implies a kind of straightforward, clear admission [sentence as heard]. A lot of people are inclined to accept the idea that the UN troops should leave the region before the beginning of the winter. This is not a dominant view, but a lot of countries, particularly those that have sent UN troops to the region, have been considering this option.

The third solution, the difficulties of which all of us have already mentioned, is a military action. The political and military-technical difficulties of this solution are so great that make this solution look very unlikely.

From where we are standing we have three clear scenarios, at the end of which we cannot see clearly a positive outcome in the short term. [passage omitted]

[Csaky] Well, the senseless war is now in its third year. Gyorgy Keleti has more than once—most recently in Brussels, I believe—drawn attention to the danger of the war's spreading. How did your Western partners react to this?

[Keleti] I have not held any discussions during the past year where this issue did not come up. On the one hand, because all the negotiating partners, or the majority of the negotiating partners, have soldiers of their armies in UNPROFOR; and on the other hand, it is obvious that here in Europe the defense ministers are concerned in this issue. And I believe it is also not a coincidence that at the last expanded NATO consultation in Brussels, the ministers of the partner countries were also invited; this figured as a central issue.

The matter is extremely dangerous for us as well. For we can expect an escalation in two dimensions, or rather, one must not rule out the possibility of its occurring. One of these is what we have talked about so far, that there will be an escalation on Bosnian territory. And I think that certain indications show that the opposing sides on Bosnian territory have determined on a final solution. On the one hand, recently there has been a significant increase in battle activities; the territory where there are very fierce armed clashes embraces ever larger areas. And on the other hand, one must not forget, either, that there are areas outside Bosnia as well, which Croatia, for example, is demanding back for itself. According to the official Croatian stand as well, over one quarter of the territory of their country is in Serb hands. A small group or part of this was recaptured on 1 and 2 May—this was the western Slavonian territory.

But let us not forget that there is an eastern Slavonia, which borders immediately on Hungary, where if the armed conflicts were to be renewed, then I think that the danger to Hungary would rise to a qualitatively higher level. For this is the so-called Baranya triangle, which on the one hand borders on Hungarian territory and on the other hand, let us not forget, it borders on the territory of Vajdasag [Vojvodina], where, let us not forget, according to certain assessments, there live about 400,000 Hungarians; in other words a very significant Hungarian community beyond the borders could be in danger.

[Csaky] Now, forgive me, but security has a price, has it not? Our objective is NATO membership, but even if it was not, we have to create a modern army. You voted in favor of a professional army. What does this mean?

[Keleti] This is a very long-term goal. The aim is to develop a professional army by 2005, 2010, one that would obviously be much smaller but more mobile, more modern-equipped than today's army. I can say with full responsibility that this present army could handle those sources of danger which might develop. Just as in the period of the previous government, too, there was a crisis-handling mechanism in the army. One must not ignore the fact that in recent times in the

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vicinity of the Hungarian border, both from the Serb and the Croatian side, there has been an increase in the number of military flights. For this reason, as I reported in parliament, in recent times on more than one occasion a higher degree of readiness had to be ordered for the aircraft of the Hungarian Air Force. We must not allow ourselves to be, quote, lulled to sleep, for an airspace violation could occur. So far it has not occurred, but once an aircraft has entered Hungarian airspace it is too late to make ours airborne; so what we need is preventive measures.

At the same time I believe that in the course of the current armed forces reform, we must pay extremely great attention to the fact that while we do not envisage an enemy, we have to have a very concrete picture of what sources of danger there lie in this region and what we must prepare for. And in this regard I believe that if we look at the size of the sources of danger today, the Yugoslav crisis is the most significant source of danger.

Naturally, one must also not ignore the fact that we also border on the former Soviet Union, where very many conflict situations could develop. But the present dangerous conflict sources today are coming from the Yugoslav direction, in other words from a direction south of our country.

[Csaky] One of our viewers, who asked not to be named, asks whether the new generation which has now been growing up was taken into consideration when the army reform was planned?

[Keleti] We hope that the new generation, at least the male side of it, will go through the army. It will take its fair share in military training and in this way they have, naturally, been taken into consideration. However, I think that we should take more care of preserving and boosting the army's prestige and we should take more care of reservists and pay more attention to those who, in the event of a possible conflict—which is only an assumption and not a fact—would form the country's defense force. We have to deal with this issue too, we should not evade this matter. The preparation of those who would form the armed forces in a military conflict is very important too. This is largely a matter of costs.

[Csaky, interrupting] I just wanted to ask, whether 2.5 percent of the GDP—or even less that that—which is currently being spent on the army is enough for this.

[Keleti] Now this is standing at 1.4 percent. We would like to have this increased, but there is a big contradiction in this respect in Hungary. [passage omitted] This is a matter in which parliament has to take a very firm stand, and I hope that this will happen. I would also like to add that the way we look at our NATO admission is that we will become full NATO members with the advantages—including security advantages—to which NATO members are entitled. I think that our NATO admission, or a phase close to our admission to NATO, implies a much higher level of security for Hungary.

[Csaky] Hungary, as current OSCE [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe] chairman, has a significant diplomatic role. What efforts have been made and will be made in order that the sides sit down to talk? I ask State Secretary Istvan Szent-Ivanyi.

[Szent-Ivanyi] [passage omitted] The OSCE basically undertakes to prevent conflicts or, where order has been restored, to resume peaceful life and to create civilized circumstances. [passage omitted] However, the OSCE may have an important role following the return of the Croats' control in western Slavonia. We have indicated our readiness to assist with the resumption of normal life.

I think that it gives Hungary a good opportunity to indicate that it is committed to peaceful solutions, to cooperative diplomacy. At the same time we are not foced to take any sharp or extremist positions which could ruin or situation in another aspect. [passage omitted]

[Jeszenszky] [Passage omitted] I would be glad if the reform of the armed forces could be based on consensus among the parliamentary parties. The question of whether we will force it through parliament quickly or reach a consensus will be decided next week.

[Csaky] Gyorgy Keleti wants to say something.

[Keleti] The reason I am smiling is because yesterday the National Executive of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] announced that it would not attend the six-party coordination talks on 26 June. I think it is a very bad political decision, because suspending talks usually leads to no result. [passage omitted]

[Jeszenszky] Let me say just one word. The reason why the MDF cannot support coordination is because it is impossible to put it to the vote on Tuesday or Wednesday. I had no knowledge of this concrete decision, but I do not think that the future of the army can be decided after a debate of one-and-one-half to two weeks.

[Csaky] Let us end this duel. It would be good to have consensus regarding the reform of the armed forces.

[Keleti] Yes, especially because defense must be a matter above parties that requires national consensus.

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I think that every party must have the same approach to this issue. That is why I hope that the MDF will review this decision. [passage omitted]

[Csaky] Is there a way out, a peaceful solution to the Yugoslav crisis? [passage omitted]

[Jeszenszky] [passage omitted] The solution can be a multinational Bosnia-Herzegovina where, just as the churches, ethnic groups and people would live together. [passage omitted]

[Csaky] State Secretary?

[Szent-Ivanyi] I also think that it would be the only good solution; the question is how to achieve it. [passage omitted] A good solution can only be reached if no winner or loser emerges in Bosnia. It is very important that any solution to be reached should be just and not based on either side's military victory. [passage omitted]

[Csaky] Minister?

[Keleti] There will be a Bosnia, as a result of a long process which, in my opinion, will take years. The United Nations, NATO, we and the neighboring countries must make very significant efforts and sacrifices. [passage omitted]

Goncz Explains Signing of Austerity Package

LD2506203495

[FBIS Editorial Report] Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian at 1800 GMT on 25 June broadcast a 35-minute prerecorded interview with Hungarian President Arpad Goncz by correspondent Sandor Erdi; place and date not given.

The opening topics were Goncz's work and popularity during his last term in office; his literary connections; changes in Hungarian society; need for legislation to catch up with change of the political and economic system; moral crisis of society; society's need to build a future.

Here Erdi probes Goncz as to why he had signed the recent government austerity package, the so-called Bokros Program, named after Finance Minister Lajos Bokros, and why he did not submit it to the Constitutional Court.

"[Erdi] It is no secret to you either, presumably, that certain intellectual and not only intellectual circles wondered whether the haste was justified; would it not have been better if you had asked the Constitutional...

"[Goncz, interrupting] There was not any haste. I had 15 days to sign it, and I used 13 of these.

"[Erdi] The Opposition asked you, as did a great many social and artistic organizations, to send this so-called Bokros package to the Constitutional Court, because many of them had anxieties not just with regard to its effect, but also its constitutionality.

"[Goncz] Well, first of all, my task is that before I submit it, I should be able to examine its constitutionality and determine whether it is unconstitutional or not. There were about three points where concern was raised as to constitutionality. What I can say now is that in my own opinion it was about 50-50. In other words, it was not dead certain, that is to say it did not unequivocally violate the constitution. For we very carefully compared the Constitutional Court's earlier standpoints. There were some that seemed to support it, some that seemed to be against it.

"If I had submitted it, that would have had a delaying effect. One could not delay in its entirety this package, which in any case had come into being at the last minute. Because, if I submit it I have to submit it in its entirety, listing my own objections. And that would slow down its coming into effect. Anybody else who has the right could submit it, be it a party member or an interest protection organization, or a private individual. In that case there is no delaying effect, but a retrospective effect if the Constitutional Court decides that it is unconstitutional. I did not dissuade anyone from submitting it. Let them submit it. In a doubtful case this is a natural means of interest protection."

After a brief repetition of this point, Goncz continues as follows:

"[Goncz] When I was in Davos I received a very tactful but a very serious warning from Alexandre Lamfalussy [listed as president of the European Monetary Institute], the leader of the IBRD [International Bank for Reconstruction and Development—as heard], with regard to the path that the Hungarian economy is compelled to follow, saying that Hungary is on a collision course, that the train is coming head on, and we have to take great care. I cannot ignore what is said by the number one leader of international economic life, who, in the person of Mr. Lamfalussy, is also a Hungarian, and who approaches the Hungarian economy with an exceptionally good will, and we are the number one partner of the IBRD, and it does everything it possibly can to support Hungary. So, I had to take this seriously."

The remainder of the interview deals with the interdependence of the region's countries as they strive toward European integration; Goncz hopes that gradually mistrust will be replaced by trust in our relations with our neighbors; he dwells on the need to respect national minorities; voices his satisfaction with Slovak-Hungarian treaty and his optimism about the future of Hungarian society.

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Keleti Comments on Army's Financial Needs

LD2306220295 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1600 GMT 23 Jun 95

[Interview with Defense Minister Gyoergy Keleti by correspondent Laszlo Gardai following the government session on 23 June—live or recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Gardai] Today's paper writes that the defense budget will be 63-63 billion forints [Ft] [as received], and it is alleged that there have already been talks with Finance Minister Lajos Bokros regarding this. Was there any mention of them today and was any promise made?

[Keleti] It is true that earlier, we had talks with the finance minister. We put forward an estimated figure, a figure we consider necessary for starting the implementation of the reform of the armed forces next year. This figure, we think, would be a budgetary support of Ft74-75 billion.

[Gardai] What did the finance minister say earlier in connection with it?

[Keleti] The finance minister agrees that the reform of the armed forces should begin; he fully admits the political and security policy needs for it. However, the sum to be made available is subject to further coordinations. [passage omitted]

I am convinced that with regard to the army, the government will take into consideration the fact that a six-party coordination as well as a parliamentary debate are under way on the reform of the armed forces, and that the country's security requires expenses, because the government feels responsibility for security.

[Gardai] Did you receive any guarantee or promise today?

[Keleti] I received none. I know one thing: that the government will give priority to the needs of the Defense Ministry and the reform we want to implement.

[Gardai] Does it mean that you are not expecting any significant cuts?

[Keleti] Look, we have to take into account several things. We have to consider which other ministries would, perhaps, receive less money due to the increase in the army budget. We have to consider further talks with the IMF. We have to consider what further statements NATO will make this year regarding its expansion. And I think that we must also take into account that the living and working circumstances of those serving in the army must also be guaranteed somehow.

[Gardai] How far can the Defense Ministry be tolerant inside the borders? What is the lowest limit of defense capability, if it can be drawn at all?

[Keleti] It is very difficult to draw it, because the army has reached a rather critical phase. We have less than the minimum amount of money necessary for renewal and maintenance, and on the other hand we think that we must make sure that the reform of the armed forces gets under way, because it is a longer process, a process to reach into the year 2005, and it is necessary to lay its foundations now.

Dunai Supports Privatization of Energy Sector

LD2306230895 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1730 GMT 23 Jun 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Presenter] President Arpad Goencz relieved Industry Minister Laszlo Pal from his post effective 15 July, at the proposal of the Prime Minister Gyula Horn. His successor will be Imre Dunai, who was proposed for the post by Gyula Horn. According to Imre Dunai, foreign capital can hugely facilitate the privatization of the energy sector. Dunai, the administrative state secretary of the ministry of industry, who is currently on leave, told "Newsreel" that the prime minister contacted him yesterday morning. [passage omitted]

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] On what conditions did you say you would accept the appointment?

[Dunai] We agreed with the prime minister that we will have a longer discussion. I told the prime minister I will not compile a 25-point condition package. He told me: Right, let it be 24 then, if not 25 conditions.

[Correspondent] Is energy privatization included in the package?

[Dunai] Of course. My view is that privatization should be carried out as quickly as possible, and foreign capital must be drawn into it, because we need money for the reconstruction of the energy sector. Now we can get it only from abroad. [end recording]

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Bildt: Milosevic 'Ready To Approve' Measures

AU2306192195 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 23 Jun 95

[Press conference by Carl Bildt, cochairman of the International Conference on the former Yugoslavia, following talks with Bosnia-Herzegovina President Alija Izetbegovic in Sarajevo on 23 June—recorded, in English with superimposed translation into Serbo-Croatian]

[Translated Text] [Bildt] As has been already said, this is my first visit to Sarajevo in my new post as the EU special envoy and in general. It was very important to me to come as soon as possible after taking on this duty, but there were problems regarding my arrival connected to the situation here, as well as the previous lack of possibility for my meeting with President Izetbegovic.

I think that we had three very detailed contacts over the last few weeks. Of course we are very short of time. We were in Belgrade, then in Geneva, Zagreb, and in Mostar a few days ago.

[Unidentified correspondent] Do you believe that you will be more successful in achieving peace than your predecessors were?

[Bildt] I would never say that. I will try just as they tried. I think that the establishment of peace does not depend on one person coming from the outside. Only the people here can bring peace to this country. Finally it will have to be the result of the local political process. What we can do is help and offer the world's assistance. That is our task. It is indeed a large task, but it is not enough in itself.

[Unidentified correspondent] Did you hear any concrete proposals during today's discussions?

[Bildt] I would not state them publicly even if I had. It is in the nature of such things that there is a time for public statements and a time for investigating possibilities if they exist.

[Unidentified correspondent] What are the next steps?

[Bildt] I do not know exactly. There will certainly be official statements. What is important to me is that the meeting of the heads of European states is to take place in a town in the south of France. This meeting will begin on Monday or Tuesday, but I will have important meetings on Sunday. We have to wait and see what will become of that.

[Unidentified correspondent] What is Milosevic's attitude when it comes to recognizing Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Bildt] He was extremely interested in having the sanctions lifted. He said that he was ready to approve a package of measures that would include recognition of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which would be of extreme importance for Bosnia-Herzegovina. So far this has not been possible because of his position regarding other issues from this package, as well as the Contact Group proposals. We will see if there are ways of overcoming this situation.

Silajdzic: UN, West Have 'Capitulated'

BR2606143195 Paris LIBERATION in French 24-25 Jun 95 p 6

[Interview with Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic by Helene Despic-Popovic in Sarajevo; date not given: "The Open Capitulation of the United Nations—The Bosnian Prime Minister Has a Feeling of Bitterness After the Hostage Crisis"]

[FBIS Translated Text] One week after the Bosnian offensive began to loosen the stranglehold on Sarajevo, the situation on every front seems to have stabilized. But humanitarian aid is blocked and the exclusion zone for heavy weapons in Sarajevo does not exist any more. Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic explains the reasons for the offensive and what he expects from the international community.

[Despic-Popovic] What was the objective of the offensive by the Bosnian Armed Forces around Sarajevo?

[Silajdzic] Our objective was to prevent any massive attack by Serbian terrorists against Sarajevo. They had concentrated a large number of troops, received additional weapons, which they are still receiving every day from Serbia by the way. They were getting ready to launch a vast offensive against Sarajevo and are still ready to do so. Our aim was to enable the city to defend itself. Operations are going on as scheduled. They are considered a success.

[Despic-Popovic] Do you feel strong enough to resist the Serbs?

[Silajdzic] When it comes to defending oneself, you do not think about it. We have already managed to counter the plans of the Serbian terrorists which aimed to subjugate the whole of Bosnia. The aggressors obliged us to react. Do you know that Sarajevo has been in a middle age-type state of siege for 38 months already? Everyone tends to have forgotten this. It seems that the world has gotten used to Sarajevo being besieged.

[Despic-Popovic] Massive Serbian bombings were expected as a retaliation against Sarajevo. However, it did not happen. How do you account for it?

[Silajdzic] Firstly, they [the Serbs] need their artillery at other places. Secondly, they know that they have nothing to gain from it, since they have been bombing

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Sarajevo for three years already. Thirdly, they wish to help their friends all over the world who want their image to look peaceful.

[Despic-Popovic] The international community wants to prompt Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic to bring the Bosnian Serbs to their senses.... What do you think of this strategy?

[Silajdzic] According to our information, weapons go more often than ever from Serbia to Bosnia. This is all a sham.

[Despic-Popovic] Can you prove what you are saying?

[Silajdzic] Not yet, but I probably will. Those who take aerial pictures over Bosnia could provide you with the evidence.

[Despic-Popovic] Do you think that the UN mission in Bosnia is a total failure?

[Silajdzic] The UN mission is a success from the perspective of those who wanted to contain the war in Bosnia. This perspective is catastrophic, even fatal for us. The Blue Helmets did a fine job on the ground but could not do more because their mandate is bad. They are requested to maintain peace there where peace does not exist. There is no possible neutrality. In fact, the international community is not neutral; it supports the aggression and the genocide by tying our hands with the arms embargo.

[Despic-Popovic] Can the Rapid Reaction Force change anything?

[Silajdzic] It is the same "status quo policy," although in a more robust way. It still aims at containing the conflict.

[Despic-Popovic] What have you learned from the hostage crisis?

[Silajdzic] The crisis has only enabled the United Nations leaders to openly do what they had implicitly done already, i.e. capitulate.

[Despic-Popovic] France and the G-7 countries have urged you to put an end to your offensive. What is you answer?

[Silajdzic] They should ask the Serbian terrorists to accept the peace plan. We are not satisfied with it because it favors the genocide and the aggression. However, we have accepted it because we hope that peace will come. Our position has not changed. This plan must be accepted to enable the negotiations to go on.

[Despic-Popovic] What do you expect from the international community?

[Silajdzic] The international community should implement the UN Security Council resolutions and put an end to the genocide.

Secirbegovic Accuses Butrus-Ghali of Lying

LD2306153395 Ashgabat ZAMAN in Turkmen 15 Jun 95 p 1

[Article by Mehmet Kocak: "There Are People Who Do Not Want To Understand Us"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Muhamed Secirbegovic, the newly appointed foreign affairs minister of Bosnia-Herzegovina, has given his first ever interview [as minister] to the ZAMAN newspaper. "Certain circles make decisions on Bosnia merely for show, but these are implemented only perfunctorily," he says.

Bosnia-Herzegovina's permanent representative to the United Nations, Muhamed Secirbegovic, who was recently appointed minister of foreign affairs of Bosnia-Herzegovina after his predecessor, Irfan Ljubijankic, was killed, has given his first interview to the ZAMAN newspaper. Mr. Secirbegovic issued a statement in connection with the latest developments in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the UN's new plans for the region, and the unceasing Serb attacks, and accused UN Secretary-General Butrus-Ghali of lying. Here is our interview with him:

[Kocak] You were appointed at a difficult time. How do you feel about that?

[Secirbegovic] First of all I would like to recall the good name of Dr. Irfan Ljubijankic, the former minister and a brave son of the Muslim Bosniak nation. I condemn those circles who allowed criminals to reach out their bloody hands to him and to the Bosnian nation.

I will try to pick up the struggle and carry it further. That is why I will seek not to make any mistakes under the burden of this great responsibility. Shortly before he died for his faith, he [Ljubijankich] told a meeting in the United States that: "Friends, we are living in a capital surrounded on all sides by Serbian bloodsuckers. We sense all the time that an enemy bullet may pierce us, or a missile fall on us at any moment. But regardless of these difficult and harsh circumstances, we should prepare ourselves for the tasks arising from the position which our country and nation are in." These words of his still echo in my ears, and I repeat them wherever I go. When I left the United States I recalled them to my colleagues and to Turkey's permanent ambassador to the United States, Mr. Inal Batuv [name as published].

Regarding ourselves as one generation of a nation which has a deep belief in Allah, we accept death

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for lofty purposes as the best of rewards. The reason for this is that those who are not prepared to die in the name of religion, nation, or state have no right to live. Every individual in the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government and army structures is fighting with this belief in mind. Despite the difficult conditions, our struggle will continue.

[Kocak] What is your opinion of the latest developments?

[Secirbegovic] What is happening in our country is a human tragedy. The entire world knows about these brutalities. But I must repeat: There are circles who do not want to know about it. Every time it seems they want to do something, but they make decisions merely for show and these are implemented only perfunctorily. Just think, for three consecutive years this country has been under bombardment, towns and villages have come under fire and been ruined, and the real owners of these lands are being annihilated. These shockingly brutal crimes are repeated day after day. They are trying to destroy this nation in its entirety.

At the same time, the United Nations, established as the world peacekeeping body, is imposing an unjust embargo against this nation, thus violating the Bosniaks' natural right to defend themselves when they are under attack.

Under these circumstances, it seems that the people of Bosnia-Herzegovina have been betrayed from both sides. First, by the Serb bloodsuckers who have unleased an offensive under the idea of a Greater Serbia.

Second, by the United Nations, NATO, and the Western world who approve these brutalities, remain spectators, and leave the Muslims defenseless. And now, the United Nations is forced to recognize its moral defeat as a result of its incorrect policy. And the most despicable and shameful fact is that the United Nations, which cannot protect its soldiers and its safe havens from the Serbs, is at the same time firmly adhering to its embargo against the Muslims.

The European countries are well informed about all of these events, yet, at the same time, due to their irrational fear of Muslims, are denying them peace, democracy, and human rights. These values are forgotten every time that problems of Islam and Muslims are on the agenda. And, until these historical errors are put right, it will be impossible to talk about peace and not only in Bosnia-Herzegovina, but in the world as a whole.

[Kocak] What do you think about the three-point proposal which Mr. Butrus-Ghali submitted to the Security Council?

[Secirbegovic] The UN secretary general always lies and confuses the facts. In my last conversation with him, for instance, he said that the countries which have contributed troops to the peacekeeping contingent now intend to withdraw them. But next day, when I held talks with the foreign ministers and permanent ambassadors of these countries, it became apparent that Mr. Butrus-Ghali was lying. The Netherlands foreign minister declared openly there are no plans to withdraw their troops, and that they will remain in Bosnia-Herzegovina until the Serb attacks stop and the security of the civilian population is guaranteed. The other countries hold similar stands on the issue.

[Korcak] What is the morale of your soldiers?

[Secirbegovic] Our army's morale is high. Having set itself the goal of recapturing all occupied lands, our army is strengthening its forces day by day. We want peace. We intend to protect the integrity of our country. It was with this aim that we met with representatives from the international negotiating group and signed the draft plans they prepared.

But the Serb aggressors continue their attacks and do not recognize any agreement. In short, we see that there is no peaceful way of regaining our lands. There can be no talk of leaving our land to the Serbs. There is only one method, which lies in strengthening our army and regaining our land by giving up our souls and blood. It may be hard, but it will definitely happen.

Will Demand 'Stricter Sanctions'

LD2506145095 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 25 Jun 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Following the latest offer by the Milosevic regime to recognize Bosnia-Herzegovina if three conditions are met, Muhamed Sacirbegovic, minister of foreign affairs of Bosnia-Herzegovina says in a special statement for the Bosnia-Herzegovina press, that this is another diplomatic trick by the Belgrade regime. This twin-track game aims to ensure a better position for the so-called Yugoslavia, Minister Sacirbegovic said.

Belgrade [word indistinct] expects the international community to reward it for something that it should do as a matter of course in normal relations between sovereign states. We believe that Serbia and Montenegro cannot have sanctions lifted until there is peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina. I think that at least two countries in the Contact Group share the same view, so Milosevic will have no success in raising these demands.

The head of Bosnia-Herzegovina's diplomacy says that Milosevic's double game based on the indecisiveness of

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the international community over the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina might end up with the introduction of strict sanctions on his regime. He still has an opportunity to present himself as a peacemaker. Without this peacemaker's mask he is a criminal, so he can easily end up, in international terms, being treated as Karadzic or Mladic. I believe Milosevic will accept this role for personal reasons above all, minister Sacirbegovic believes.

The Bosnia-Herzegovina minister of foreign affairs expects this situation to crystallize as the UN Security Council will consider the further easing of sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro although it is not unlikely that they will be reintroduced in the same form, including sports and culture.

If we find that the border of Serbia and Montenegro with Bosnia-Herzegovina is not closed and if we do not see the Milosevic regime's desire for peace and recognition of Bosnia-Herzegovina, we will demand even stricter sanctions against them. So far we have been twice successful in this. I can see no reason why we should not be a third time, Minister Sacirbegovic said.

Commenting on the threat to withdraw UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] from Bosnia-Herzegovina, Sacirbegovoc said: We do not regard this as pressure as we are realistic about what we can expect from UNPROFOR. We do not insist as much on averting its withdrawal as on its coordination if it has to happen eventually. Two things have been in evidence recently: First, there is less benefit from UNPROFOR, so if their mandate were to be realistically reviewed it would earn very poor marks. Second, we are aware of the fact that providing humanitarian aid has been a substitute for real and full aid for our country. It is their delusion that we can be thus [words indistinct], we have however no such delusions, Foreign Minister Sacirbegovic said in his special statement for the Bosnia-Herzegovina Press news agancy.

Views Arms Embargo

BR2606153295 Madrid ABC in Spanish 26 Jun 95 p 34

[Interview with Foreign Minister Muhamed Secirbegovic by Branimir Baron Brijevic in Zagreb; date not given: "If We Do Not Win This Counteroffensive, People in Sarajevo Will Die of Thirst"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Zagreb—After the assassination of Irfan Ljubijankich by the Croatian Serbs while he was traveling in a helicopter over the Bihac enclave, Bosnian UN Ambassador Muhamed Secirbegovic has now been appointed foreign minister. Secirbegovic is the son of one of President Alija Izetbegovic's best friends, Nedzic Secirbegovic, with whom Izetbegovic spent years in jail for belonging to the Young Muslims' Movement.

[Brijevic] How do you view the situation around Sarajevo? The taking of hostages shocked the United Nations. Now the intention is to negotiate everything with the Serbs. The Government Army's offensive is an act of despair, with no chances of success. Is this correct?

[Secirbegovic] The international community is asking our troops to cease all fighting, even though in fact our offensive is an act of self-defense, of despair, and in fact, it is a humanitarian action aimed at freeing the inhabitants in the so-called UN protection zone from the Serbs' siege. We will only stop our offensive if the Serbs reopen the airlift after it has been blocked for 70 days, so that the town can be supplied with the basic essentials, and if they guarantee normal supplies overland. But as long as our citizens have to run from one street corner to the next with plastic canisters, braving shells and snipers to look for the most basic essentials for survival, we have no choice but to try to break the stranglehold on the town.

[Brijevic] But is highly improbable that the Serbs will meet your government's demands.

[Secirbegovic] The problem is not only the Serbs but also the great powers. Besides, [UN Secretary General] Butrus Butrus-Ghali is acting according to the great powers' wishes so as not jeopardize his reelection. Unfortunately, neither Bosnia nor Croatia are as important for the United States as relations with Russia, or with France and Britain in the context of NATO. We have learnt something from our enemies' tactics: We must now continue our action to break through the siege, because there is no other reasonable course of action at the moment.

[Brijevic] Is it not a suicidal action?

[Secirbegovic] Perhaps, but what else can we do? The situation of supplies in Sarajevo is catastrophic. There is not even enough drinking water, because four weeks ago the Serbs cut off supplies. Only one pump is available to supply some areas but because of low pressure the water does not reach any of the homes above the second-floor level. People have to go and look for water from reservoirs which are not enough for the whole town. With the heat of the summer, they will gradually start dying of thirst.

[Brijevic] Are you counting on the arms embargo on Bosnia being lifted?

[Secirbegovic] We are not counting on it, because Clinton can always veto it. What might help is pressure from the U.S. Congress and politicians who no longer

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believe in a fruitless policy. The new French Government and President Chirac have also led us to have more hope. But Britain is still there. The U.S. Government is asked to contribute $150 million for the Rapid Reaction Force (RRF). But Congress does not wish to provide this money for something which so far has proved useless. So the Americans are now trying to get the British and French to guarantee that the RRF will actually do something, rather than just maintain the status quo. With UN Special Envoy Yasushi Akashi and General Janvier, the situation in Bosnia has only worsened. They had the means of bringing the situation under control, but they refused to do so. It is too easy to say that there is no wish for peace in Bosnia. The federation of Muslims and Croations clearly shows that the will exists. The world has made itself ridiculous in Bosnia: The United Nations, NATO, and the West have all suffered one of their worst defeats.

[Brijevic] The U.S. Congress promised to help with $0.5 to $5 billion. Will the Bosnians be helped with arms?

[Secirbegovic] This is just a stratagem of the West. Up until now only $200 million have been promised in weapons. The figures you are quoting are only the Pentagon's calculations of what Bosnia needs in order to save itself. In reality, that figure of $5 billion was only quoted to confuse and discourage congressmen.

[Brijevic] What is your view of a new conference on the former Yugoslavia's territory?

[Secirbegovic] The international community is looking for a way out for itself after the failure of the Contact Group's plan. We do not want a new conference or new mediators if this means shelving the Contact Group's plan. I see all this as a further attempt to help [Bosnian Serb leader] Karadzic and, above all, Serbian President Milosevic in their tasks. It is believed that a Greater Serbia might be a solution for the area.

[Brijevic] The recognition of Bosnia by Serbia is being announced. Is this realistic?

[Secirbegovic] In exchange, Milosevic is asking for too high a price, although he would like to be considered a pacifier by recognizing Bosnia. He started all this and he is now looking for a way out, especially for himself. But our information is very different: The Serbs from Serbia are still taking part in the fighting in Bosnia.

[Brijevic] Believing as you do that the West has betrayed you, are you relying on help from the Islamic states?

[Secirbegovic] Personally I am still a man of both the West and the East. I am firmly convinced that a new climate between the Bosnian Croats and the Muslims might act as an exemplary model for the international community, by showing that people with different nationalities can live together in harmony in Bosnia.

Muslims, Croats Discuss Sarajevo Blockade

LD2406184995 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 24 Jun 95

[FBIS Translated Text] No general alert was sounded here in Kiseljak today for the first time after many days. Talks between Croat and Muslim leaders at the highest level took place here today. They discussed further plans for the lifting of the blockade of Sarajevo. Following the talks between Brigadier Drago Dragicevic and General Ramiz Drekovic in Kresevo, a meeting was held today between Kresimir Zubak and Ejup Ganic, president and vice president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation. The meeting was also attended by the commanders of the two armies, Generals Tihomir Blaskic and Rasim Delic, and their aides.

President Zubak had the following to say for Croatian TV after the meeting:

[Begin recording] [Zubak] I am here today, among other things, to see the situation in the field. It is with pleasure that I can say I saw good cooperation and that all structures in the Croat Defense Council [HVO] are prepared and ready to carry out their task.

[Correspondent Smiljko Sagolj] What is their final goal?

[Zubak] The final goal is to lift the blockade of Sarajevo. Within that final goal we have clearly defined the directions of the HVO's thrust. Its final aim is to liberate, in cooperation with the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, one of the roads leading to Sarajevo and keep it open permanently to allow humanitarian aid delivery to Sarajevo. [end recording]

The front lines are quiet and are being consolidated today.

HVO To Help Lift Blockade

AU2406171795 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Jun 95 p 23

[Article by S. Bencun: "HVO, Too, Liberating Sarajevo!"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiseljak—In connection with the newly created situation, a news conference was held in Kiseljak by General Ivo Lozancic, Colonel Drago Dragicevic, commander of the Vitez military zone, Col. Mario Bradara, commander of the 94th Home Guard Regiment, and Vinko Lucic, member of the Joint Chief of Staff of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation.

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In an introductory address, Colonel Drago Dragicevic briefly described the activities by the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] units following the signing of the agreement in Travnik between the HVO and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, and added that Generals Blaskic and Delic had agreed on a concrete military accord in connection with the lifting of the Sarajevo blockade. He also added that the agreement had been passed down to lower levels, to the corps and the military zone of Vitez, and that military orders had been issued. In connection with this, the HVO has been undertaking military operations for the lifting of the Sarajevo blockade and the liberation of some 300,000 civilians imprisoned in the Federation capital.

Asked by the reporters whether HVO infantry would also participate in military operations, Gen. Ivo Lozancic said that both HVO artillery and infantry units were already engaged in battle, and this was going to remain the case until the blockade of Sarajevo was lifted. He said that more intense fighting was expected over the next few weeks and then it would be possible to assess how successful this humanitarian operation had been.

There have already been attacks by the Serbs on the Kiseljak area, Col. Mario Bradara said, and with the intensification of the fighting it was reasonable to expect heavier Serb artillery attacks. However, the HVO units have the power to respond and the morale of the troops is also high, Col. Bradara said.

Bosnian Commander Optimistic About Success

LD2506210895 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 25 Jun 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Here is what Army General Rasim Delic, the commander of the General Staff of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, had to say about our units' achievements. We interviewed him on one of the positions from which the combat activities are being commanded.

[Begin Delic recording] The fighters' combat morale, responsible attitude, and determination to complete their task guarantee further advances of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army. The aggressor has been stretched to the limit of his potential. In addition to the Sarajevo battlefield, we have been scoring victories in other areas too, which shows that we have managed to take over the initiative, and we will try to keep it now.

It suffices to say that 200-300 square kilometers have been liberated. To tell you the truth, we do not really measure it. We have captured considerable amounts of military equipment and inflicted huge losses. Operational conditions have been created for carrying out other combat tasks according to the plans we are following. I would like to stress again that, at the moment, we are deciding about our fate and the outcome of this battle. All this depends primarily on our patience and persistence. We have enough determination and courage. [end recording]

Muslims Ban Croat Municipality in N. Bosnia

LD2406191095 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1711 GMT 24 Jun 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, June 24 (TANJUG)—Muslim authorities in the Brcko area in northern Bosnia have outlawed the newly set up Croat municipality of Ravne-Brcko, Muslim-controlled Sarajevo Radio reported Saturday.

Radio Herzeg-Bosnia, the radio station of the Bosnian Croat state of the same name, has reacted to the ban by underscoring that the right of Croats to form municipalities is envisaged under the Washington and Vienna Agreements on the Muslim-Croat Federation in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The work of the Muslim-Croat Brcko municipality is completely blocked because Croat representatives have moved to the neighbouring Croat-held town of Orasje, Sarajevo Radio said.

The agreement on the Muslim-Croat Federation in Bosnia-Herzegovina was signed in March last year in Washington under strong pressure from the United States. Details of the agreement were agreed in Vienna the following month.

The agreements are not, however, being implemented because of great mistrust between the two sides following their fierce mutual clashes.

Sandzak Muslims Complain of Serbian Mobilization

LD2406144695 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 24 Jun 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Serbian army has recently increased the number of (?guided) aircraft flights over Sandzak. Low flights and the breaking of the sound barrier over Novi Pazar, Sjenica, Rozaj, and other towns in Sandzak are new forms of show of force of the local regime. Military [word indistinct] in border areas with Bosnia-Herzegovina—Sjenica, Berane, and Uzice—are used for that purpose.

In addition to this, Bosniaks [Muslims] are greatly confused by the latest mobilization of citizens of the so-called Yugoslavia into the units of the Serb army fighting in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia.

In response to the mobilization of Cedomir Atilije from Stara Pazova [in Vojvodina], lawyer Dragan Vujovic

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says: It is unusual and legally impossible that a person who is a military conscript in one country should obtain a call-up to serve in the army of another country. It is even more unusual that the regular police should arrest, detain, and hand over its citizens and its military conscripts to the military authorities of another, as he says, unrecognized country.

We are compelled to report this to independent media and UN representatives, as well as international observers in the so-called Yugoslavia. This is said in the statement of the Muslim National Council of Sandzak [Muslimansko nacionalno vijece Sandzaka].

Local Mayor: People Complaining About RRF

AU2406154495 Paris AFP in English 1102 GMT 24 Jun 95

[Report by Michel Moutot]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tomislavgrad, Bosnia-Herzegovina, June 24 (AFP)—The United Nations tried to smooth over problems in setting up the international Rapid Reaction Force (RRF) in this southern Bosnian town, as the local Bosnian Croats grumbled that soldiers were riding roughshod over the area.

Since the beginning of the month, some 800 British soldiers, supported by tanks and heavy weapons, have been installing themselves in the mountains surrounding the small town, 120 kilometres (70 miles) from Sarajevo. On Wednesday they were joined by an advance group of 150 French troops, with some 1,700 still to arrive from the Croatian port of Ploce.

"I hope we'll be able to set ourselves up in Tomislavgrad as quickly as possible, once the red tape has been seen to," said Colonel Antoine Lecerf, commander of the French contingent, on arriving in Ploce on Thursday.

But red tape is the least of local mayor Mijo Tokic's worries, who reprimanded the troops for not sticking to their designated areas agreed with the Bosnian Croat army (HVO) [Croatian Defense Council]. According to British officers, the HVO gave the go-ahead for the deployment in the first place.

"They trample down fields with their tanks, damage roads, enter private property without the owner's consent," Tokic told AFP.

For his part Yvan Bacak, the local information officer, called for more communication with the RRF forces, saying the local people were apprehensive about their presence. "Before anything else, they (the RRF) should tell us where they are, what they're doing and what their mission is," he said.

A spokesman for the HVO highlighted the danger posed by the RRF presence in the area. "The Serbs may well become aware of the danger this force represents and bombard it," warned Ignac Kostroman. "The force should be deployed near the war zones, not here." He added that talks were underway on a possible redeployment of the force.

The leader of the Bosnian Croat-Moslem federation, Kresimir Zukak, meanwhile in a letter to UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) commander General Rupert Smith has called for a definition of the status, mandate, role, and structure of the RRF command before "acknowledging the request for its deployment in Tomislavgrad."

With over 2,700 soldiers already in the area, the race is on for the RRF to find a consensus location with the Bosnian Croats who nevertheless appear prepared to accommodate the troops on territory under their control, observers said. This contrasts with the Bosnian Government's position which says it does not want the RRF "interfering" with its troop movements. Deployment on Serb-held territory was never an issue.

Croatian grumbles may be due to UN assertions of the impartiality of the force. A high-ranking UN official in Zagreb said the RRF "could intervene in Bosnia, but also in Croatia." And Colonel Lecerf stated the mission was not only limited to Sarajevo. "It could also extend to Bihac, or (the self-declared Serb republic in Croatia) Krajina."

NATO and the European Union proposed creating the force last month to provide better protection for UN troops after Bosnian Serbs took 400 of them hostage in the latest of a string of humiliations for the UN mission in Bosnia.

The main contributors to the force, comprising eventually some 10,000 men, are France, Britain and the Netherlands.

But increasing disquiet over its deployment puts a question mark over its operational date set for mid-July.

Daily: Washington Abandoning 'Moral' Position

AU2406175795 Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE (Bosnian) in Serbo-Croatian 12 Jun 95 p 2

[Commentary by Zoran Pirolic: "'A New Beginning'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] If you told someone who is queuing for water in Sarajevo or fleeing from shells in Gorazde and Bihac that a new beginning in the search for a solution to the Bosnian crisis is expected, he would look at you as if you had just come from another planet. The Bosnians are not interested in any new beginning;

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they are interested in the end of the aggression and the horrible life of nightmares, which no one can see yet.

Mr. Carl Bildt replaces Lord David Owen as EU mediator for the former Yugoslavia. The former Swedish prime minister should enable "a new beginning" accompanied by the new decisiveness of the West and new troops on the ground. His arrival on the slippery political Balkan scene was followed by the extremely cynical statement by Lord Owen that "the moralists in Sarajevo and Washington should look for a less perfect solution, because otherwise the ethnic cleansing in Banja Luka and Bijeljina will be totally completed."

My lord remains faithful to his principles even when he is about to retire as a politician. His statement would not deserve any special attention if it did not reflect his "real political" approach to the solution to the Bosnian crisis, which has an increasing number of supporters. One of the greatest authorities on this topic, Mr. Henry Kissinger, coolly claims that the conflict in Bosnia "is a local ethnic conflict that will disappear without intervention."

These opinions are increasingly being reflected in official U.S. policy, so Lord Owen may not be right in thinking that Sarajevo and Washington have similar "moral" views on a unitary Bosnia-Herzegovina within its internationally recognized borders. The repeated warnings from the White House to the Bosnian authorities "to assess realistically their own possibilities, including military ones" are aimed at creating an atmosphere in which a solution less favorable than the present Contact Group plan would be acceptable.

Part of the "new beginning" for Bosnia-Herzegovina is the renewed offer made by UN Secretary-General Butrus-Ghali for a new London conference. Whenever they do not know what to do, the bureaucrats from the East River offer a new conference. Will a state be offered to Karadzic's Serbs behind the impressive international diplomatic decoration in London and thus a new chapter in the general history of obscenity—for what else could the search by the international community for a solution in Bosnia be called?

The United Nations is again negotiating with the man whom it has already called a terrorist and who is the biggest criminal at the war crimes tribunal. The totally unsuccessful and morally worthless policies of ethnic division in Bosnia-Herzegovina, whose creators are former French President Francois Mitterand and Mr. Douglas Hurd, the head of the British Foreign Office, are still the basis of the peace plan for Bosnia.

From this point of view, the arrival of the Rapid Reaction Force from France, Great Britain, and other European countries assumes completely different dimensions. They are not "imitations of soldiers," as the present UN peacekeepers in Bosnia were called by Gerd Schmueckle, a retired German general, nor are they forces to end the blockade of Sarajevo. Their presence in Bosnia will be one of the most powerful elements for maintaining the status quo in Bosnia, because large-scale operations will hardly be possible in the part of the country where they will be stationed. It is no coincidence that one of their most important strongholds will be near Sarajevo. A real avalanche of great words uttered by leading Western politicians about "the new decisiveness and the turning point in Bosnia" recall a short summer shower. The threats uttered by U.S. and European politicians to Karadzic's Serbs have never been accompanied by any corresponding action. The chances for such action are now slighter than ever before. The Western press has published the words of the Pale leader, Radovan Karadzic, that "the United States cannot allow itself to lose more than 20 or 25 soldiers at most in Bosnia." The West does not want to check the credibility of similar statements, because after the "scandal with the hostages" it is convinced of their truth.

The international atavism and old alliances in a new form, which come to light on the example of the Bosnian crisis, are taking this country away from a solution and are even pushing it into the background. One can almost forget what was at the beginning and what the whole fuss was about. At times, everything recalls a game with masks, in which it is not known who is who. Yesterday's initiator of the war is today's peacekeeper. The terrorist is given the mask of negotiator and is even paid visits at home. Seventy masked civilians are worth less than a television picture of a peacekeeper tied to a pole. All the suffering of the Sarajevo population is less interesting than a story about a whale that got lost in Canadian territorial waters.

A new beginning for Bosnia could mean a new round of hell. All the threats aimed at the murderers of civilians, irrational nationalists, lunatics and terrorists—as the current Pale leadership has been called—have proved to be futile. There is no worse policy than to make threats without supporting them by a convincing action. The very same leadership is being accepted as a negotiator now. It is even possible that Karadzic's "state," built on crimes, is more or less secretly recognized. It may be time for the international politicians to apply the well-known rule "that positions that are impossible to defend, should be abandoned on time."

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Karadzic Views Confederation, UN Hostages

TA2506133395 Jerusalem Israel Television Channel 1 Network in Hebrew 1700 GMT 24 Jun 95

[Interview with Bosnian Serb President Radovan Karadzic by Gil Sadan at the presidential headquarters in Pale; date not given—recorded, in English]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Sadan] Now, against the background of roaring guns, the Serbs in Yugoslavia are also threatening to recognize an independent Bosnia, despite Karadzic's opposition.

[Karadzic] Well, they may take such a step but the whole world has recognized Bosnia. Still, Bosnia does not exist. You know that in the Roman Empire, Caligula had promoted his horse to be a senator, but he has not been a senator. Simply, this is a horse. Bosnia is not a state.

[Sadan] Is there not room for a confederation between a Serb republic here in Bosnia and Serbia, which would live side by side with a Muslim Bosnia?

[Karadzic] Well, you see it is quite unusual that one people, one nation, among themselves make a confederation. But still we are ready to make any connection with Serbia and Yugoslavia. The best way will be if we become part of Serbia because we are part of Serbia, or part of Yugoslavia as a federal unit. As far as it is concerned with our ties to the Muslim state and the Croatian state, or a Muslim-Croatian federation—it is not going to be federal or confederal—it can be only sort of a loose union like the European Union or even looser. You see, Belgium has formed into a confederation of three states. The Czech Republic and Slovakia separated. Slovenia left Yugoslavia; Croatia left Yugoslavia. People are doing something on the basis of the right to self-determination. Why shouldn't the Serbs do the same? [passage omitted]

All the meetings in the international community have given sort of commitment to the political rather than to a military solution. That is why I do think that this crisis helped us to accelerate political process rather than military process.

[Sadan] So can you give us a scenario of what is going to happen in the next few days? At least, what you would like at least to happen in the next few days in the direction of a solution?

[Karadzic] Well, I would like the international community diplomatic reaction forces rather than military rapid reaction forces to come here and to realize that we are not aggressors. That we did not come from Serbia. That we live here. That we are defending our own homes and that we are ready for compromises. [passage omitted]

[Karadzic] We have never wanted to take all of Bosnia. We only wanted to separate our own territories from the Muslims and Croats. On the other hand, Muslims had always an unrealistic objective to have the whole Bosnia under their domination in order to make an Islamic regime, an Islamic state in Europe. And they say openly that they are going to be very successful terrorists because they look European, they are going to be in Europe, and they are going to pass through European borders easily. And it is going to be a big headache for Europe because the Europeans do not realize that the Serbs are the side that can be a reliable factor for peace in the Balkans.

[Sadan] Radovan Karadzic is indeed a man of his word who kept his promise to release the hostages. Karadzic does not refer to them as hostages but rather prisoners of war. His statements even somewhat imply that the recent confrontation with the United Nations was not such a good idea.

Was that not a point of playing it a little too far?

[Karadzic] No. The first day of bombardment we did not do anything. But the next day they bombed us even before the ultimatum expired so we have realized that they decided to be cruel against our people. To destroy everything that is important for our defense. And that was a very bad idea and if the taking of UN soldiers as prisoners of war was bad idea that was a response to the UN's idea to bomb Serbian cities, to scare Serbian children and the elderly. The commander of those soldiers had commanded the bombardment. The commander made them prisoners of war.

[Sadan] I asked Karadzic what would have happened if the bombings were not stopped. Would you have harmed the UN soldiers? Karadzic plays the innocent. Us? he asks. Certainly not.

[Karadzic] We would never harm them. We would never kill them. But if somebody would kill them that would be their own commander.

[Sadan] Do you foresee a repetition of this scenario?

[Karadzic] We can expect anything from the international community which is under the pressure of one power or two powers which are totally biased and partial in favor of our enemies.

[Sadan] You are talking about the United States?

[Karadzic] Well, Germany too. Germany is very hostile toward the Serbs. [passage omitted]

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Karadzic: Muslims Destroying Chance for Talks

LD2406164195 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1415 GMT 24 Jun 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Paris, 24 Jun (SRNA)—[Bosnian] Serb President Radovan Karadzic warned in today's interview to the French newspaper LE FIGARO that by launching the latest offensive against Serb Sarajevo, the Muslims are trying to destroy the last chance of resuming peace negotiations, SRNA's correspondent in Paris has reported.

"Alija Izetbegovic wants to destroy all chances of resuming the peace negotiations with this offensive. He wants a complete Islamization of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina and the creation of the first Muslim state in Europe," Karadzic stressed in the interview made immediately after the Muslim attack on Serb Sarajevo.

The Serb Republic president again said that "people in West Europe have still not understood that the Serbs are defending the territory on which they have always lived."

"Izetbegovic will never be sovereign on the territory that has always belonged to Serbs," Karadzic warned and stressed that "peace is possible between the sides in conflict in the framework of a new territorial division of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina."

The Serb Republic president accused the international community in his LE FIGARO interview of trying to preserve the Muslim state by force. He stressed the need for drawing just borders between the warring sides.

Karadzic also stressed the need for France, England, the United States, and Russia to invest additional efforts to find a political solution to the crisis in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina soon.

"If the Serbs were treated correctly, as the Muslims and Croats are, it would be clear that the Serb people are much more willing to cooperate than it seems when one reads the Western press," Karadzic said.

Speaking about maps, Karadzic said both quantity and quality of land must be taken into account.

"We own 64 percent of the territory, but we demand neither 70 nor 64 percent of it," Karadzic said, concluding that anything below 50 percent was unacceptable for the Serbs.

Commenting on the recent incident [hostage crisis] with the Blue Helmets, Karadzic said he wanted "a return to the normal situation."

"The crisis is over. We demonstrated our goodwill and got nothing for it in return," Karadzic said.

Asked to comment on the Rapid Reaction Force, he said "it is impossible to expect peace in the area where troops are being amassed."

"There is a danger that the international community could be dragged into the war. Our opinion is that this has already happened. We do not trust these forces," Karadzic said.

Commenting on possible U.S. actions in former Bosnia-Herzegovina, Karadzic said "this would be the best way to start a new Vietnam," and concluded "that it is better to find a political solution."

"In this respect the election of Jacques Chirac as French president is encouraging. He has already established himself as a great European leader. With him France will again have the status it enjoyed during General De Gaulle. This is almost an obligation for France, which must prevent the German domination over Europe," Karadzic said.

RRF Better Stay 'Far Away'

LD2406111995 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 2130 GMT 23 Jun 95

[Rebroadcast of Bosnian Serb TV interview with Radovan Karadzic, president of the Bosnian Serb Republic]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Announcer quoting Karadzic] I am absolutely convinced. Radovan Karadzic has appeared on the television of the Bosnian Serbs. However, [word indistinct] concealed several questions withhout answers. Karadzic spoke a great deal about the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army losses, not mentioning with a single word either manpower or territorial losses incurred by the Bosnian Serbs. In a propaganda-like fashion, he read out the names of promoted officers in his army. It is interesting that he should say it is still not known whether the Croats have joined or would join in the battles in the Sarajevo area.

[Begin Karadzic recording] Both on Mt. Treskavica and in the area around it, they [Muslims] have sometimes had initial successes. It is completely insignificant whether one day a hill is held by either them or us. The next day we will chase them away, let them into our territory, create a shooting gallery, defeat them, and take the territory back. They will that they had some success. In fact, they paid for it with their own blood.

But where we will not allow them to go is from Hadzici via Ilijas, where Sarajevo's urban zones are, etc. They accessed this road, but they paid for it with blood. In brief, there has been a catastrophe, a slaughterhouse in the past several months, especially

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the past week. I do not know whether anyone will ever assume responsibility and explain to the Muslim people and all these mothers why thousands of young men have died.

The Rapid Reaction Force [RRF] had better stay as far away as possible from Bosnia, especially as far away as possible from the Serb Republic. We see no reason for their deployment.

As far as humanitarian aid is concerned, where we consider it necessary, for instance Sarajevo, if there are no attacks, we will allow it in, we will escort it ourselves through our territory, but foreign troops will not come to our territory. [end recording]

Karadzic Threatens To Halt Aid Convoys

AU2406135595 Paris AFP in English 0138 GMT 24 Jun 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Pale, Bosnia-Herzegovina, June 24 (AFP)—Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic threatened early Saturday [24 June] to halt aid convoys to Moslem areas unless the United Nations put pressure on the Bosnian Army to stop its current offensives.

In an interview televised from Pale, the Bosnian Serb stronghold near Sarajevo, Karadzic said he might stop aid reaching the enclave of Srebrenica "unless the United Nations disarms the Moslem fighters" in the region.

He also said deliveries of humanitarian aid to Sarajevo "will only be allowed on condition that the Moslems [Bosnia-Herzegovina Army] cease their attacks from Sarajevo (against Bosnian Serb forces)."

Three convoys reached Sarajevo on Wednesday and one has been allowed into the city since then, according to UN officials in Geneva. The Serbs are holding up two convoys at the entrance to Sarajevo, after accusing Bosnian troops of firing on a convoy destined for the Serb-held part of the city.

Alluding to the mainly French and British Rapid Reaction Force (RRF) for Bosnia, Karadzic said it was dangerous "because of the arrival of more soldiers and weapons" in an already volatile region.

"We believe the world needs new rapid diplomatic forces here," he said.

The Bosnian Serb leader expressed a desire to talk to the two international mediators, Thorvald Stoltenberg (United Nations) and Carl Bildt (European Union) who are now in former Yugoslavia. "All those who want to resolve this crisis must also come to us and talk to us," he said. "Mr. Bildt appears to have understood this and he will probably come (to Pale) to talk to us too," Karadzic said.

In a reference to a Moslem offensive underway since June 15, Karadzic said it was "more than necessary for the international community to exert pressure to stop the Moslems." "We will punish our enemies if they go on attacking us, by seizing territory from them," Karadzic said.

Promotes Seven Officers

LD2406081495 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 2350 GMT 23 Jun 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 23 Jun (SRNA)—Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb Republic and supreme commander of the Serb Republic army, has promoted seven officers ahead of St. Vitus Day [28 June], the army's saint day, SRNA learned from its bureau for press liaison with the Serb Republic.

For their exceptional merit in commanding units of the Serb Republic armed forces, Karadzic promoted Major General Bosko Kelecevic to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel General, and Colonels Vladimir Arsic, Radislav Krstic, Radivoje Miletic, Petar Skrbic, Momir Zec, and Radivoje Tomanic to the rank of Major General.

Mladic Accuses UN of Aiding Government Forces

AU2406164395 Paris AFP in English 1533 GMT 24 Jun 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Pale, Bosnia-Herzegovina, June 24 (AFP)—Bosnian Serb army leader General Ratko Mladic accused the United Nations Saturday [24 June] of actively supporting the Bosnian Government's offensive, the Serb news agency SRNA said.

In a protest letter addressed to General Bernard Janvier, the commander of UN forces in ex-Yugoslavia, Mladic said he believed some UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) units had openly intervened in the offensive, launched 10 days ago by the Moslem-led Bosnian Army on Serb-held fronts around Sarajevo.

"The UN peace forces stationed on Mount Igman (overlooking Sarajevo) used mortar fire to support the Moslems in their offensive against Serb positions on the Sarajevo-Trnovo road," Mladic said.

Mladic also protested the destruction Tuesday by French peacekeepers of a Serb tank in the Poljine district of Sarajevo.

UNPROFOR said the peacekeepers destroyed the Serb M-18 tank after it attacked their observation post, situated on a front line north of the Bosnian capital.

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Mladic asked Janvier to take necessary measures to make UNPROFOR remain impartial in the Bosnian conflict.

Says Bosnia in for 'Long War'

AU2606095095 Paris AFP in English 2327 GMT 25 Jun 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, June 26 (AFP)—Bosnian Serb military chief General Ratko Mladic warned Sunday [25 June] that Bosnia was in for a "long war" and that any talk of an early end to the fighting could be discounted.

"We must prepare ourselves to wage a long war and the forecasts that it could end within so many days or so many months are unfounded," Mladic said in an interview broadcast Sunday night on Serbia's Studio-B private television channel.

He said the war would go on for as long as "the international community refuses to respect the will of the Serb people."

"We must tell the truth to our people because this war has been forced upon us," Mladic said, adding: "The foreign factor is the main cause of the war" in Bosnia. He named the United States and Germany "which have ganged up with our enemies and constitute the driving force behind their actions" along with "certain Islamic countries like Turkey and Saudi Arabia."

"The international community has shown a bias which goes beyond science fiction," he said.

Mladic criticised General Rupert Smith, commander of the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in Bosnia, calling him "a man who has no understanding of this situation" and who has "branded the Serb side as the enemy."

He said UNPROFOR had failed to enforce the demilitarisation of the Moslem enclaves of Srebrenica, Zepa, and Gorazde in eastern Bosnia.

"It wasn't even capable of demilitarising a 4.5 kilometer (2.8 mile) long sector in Srebrenica. On the contrary it has continued to encourage the Moslems, to provide them with food, fuel, and even arms," Mladic said.

Mladic accused international organisations, like the UNHCR (UN High Commissioner for Refugees) of delivering arms to the Bosnian government.

"A few days ago, we discovered in one convoy an arms cache hidden among bags of flour, sugar, and other articles," he said.

Mladic said that to win the war in Bosnia, the breakaway "Serb Republic" proclaimed by Serb separatists would have to "put half of its resources at the disposal of the army."

Buha Wants Changed Approach to Bosnia Problem

LD2506213195 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 2046 GMT 25 Jun 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 25 Jun (SRNA)—Aleksa Buha, minister of foreign affairs of the [Bosnian] Serb republic, warned today that the the Serb side's approval would be necessary for the arrival of the Rapid Reaction Force in former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

"However, the amassing of troops is a bad thing because, as the number of foreign troops in the territory of former Bosnia-Herzegovina grows, there is an increasing danger of the conflict escalating," Buha said in Kragujevac radio's "Hallmark of Times" program.

Assessing that the international community "has begun to lose patience" with the Muslims and Croats, Buha said that this is evident from the increasingly vocal demands for a cessation of the Muslim offensive on Serb Sarajevo.

"However, these are still only games. It remains to be seen if a genuine change will really take place," Buha warned and reiterated the Serb standpoint that the Contact Group plan can be accepted only as a starting point for the negotiations.

"It is not possible to give one side everything it wants and then impose it on the other side as an ultimatum, at the same time expecting it to be satisfied," Buha said.

Expressing his belief that the international community has also realized that the method of "double standards" cannot bring progress to the peace process, Buha said that the approach to the problem of former Bosnia-Herzegovina must be altered.

Pale Serbs Forward Deserter Names to FRY

AU2506164495 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Jun 95 p 3

[Article by BETA: "Call On Conscripts in FRY"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Pale—The authorities of the Bosnian Serbs yesterday issued a call to all men of military age currently living on the territory of Yugoslavia to report to their units by 5 July at the latest, and announced that they had initiated criminal proceedings against all the doctors and other medical staff that had fled to the Yugoslav territory since the outbreak of the war.

The Information Ministry of the Serb Republic today issued a statement, calling in particular on the men

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of military age from the area of Sarajevo currently in Yugoslavia, as that city "is the stage of the decisive battle that will mark the victorious end to the war." The ministry is calling on all men of military age that have left to respond to the mobilization and "share with their brothers the glory of the victory and the splendor of the human and national honor."

The Health Ministry has issued a statement, saying that it has forwarded to "all the relevant FRY authorities" lists of names and addresses of doctors and other medical staff that are military conscripts in the Serb Republic, and are currently in Serbia and Montenegro. These doctors and other medical staff in Yugoslavia are also called upon to report to the authorities in Pale by 5 July. Otherwise, the ministry says, criminal proceedings will be initiated against all those that "have escaped to Yugoslavia," and that "there will be no exemption even for those that have managed in one way or another to obtain FRY citizenship."

In the theater of operations of the Sarajevo-Romanija Corps, where a state of war has been declared, a special regime has been introduced, and practically all men of military age have been mobilized. Hasty mobilization of all men of military age is also under way in other parts of the Serb Republic.

[Box, p 3]

Into Yugoslavia Only With Mladic's Signature

Bijeljina—The Yugoslav border authorities have introduced strict control of the crossing of men of military age from areas under Serb control, BETA has learned from Serb sources in Bijeljina. Yesterday the Yugoslav authorities at the Raca border crossing near Bijeljina turned back all men of military age that did not have exit permits signed by Bosnian Serb military commander Ratko Mladic. The Bosnian Serb authorities were allowing all those with relevant permissions from the Defense Ministry in Pale to exit, without insisting on Mladic's signature.

Milici Deserters Face Charges

LD2306102595 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 0838 GMT 23 Jun 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Milici, 23 Jun (SRNA)—In keeping with a decision adopted by the Milici Municipal Assembly, a military department in this town will, by 5 July, establish a final list of conscripts who have left this municipality, so that criminal proceedings can be instituted against them.

All deserters on this list, who are now either in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia or abroad, henceforth will be banned from entering the Serb Republic.

The Milici parliament also adopted a decision to confiscate both real and movable property from persons against whom criminal proceedings have been instituted and who are considered deserters, and transfer it to municipal bodies.

According to this decision, all property purchase and sale agreements concluded after 4 April 1992 are pronounced null and void.

Members of the deserters' families will be denied all financial benefits, as well as other rights defined by the state authorities.

Members of the deserters' families will no longer be allowed to hold management posts in state enterprises and institutions, but will be entitled to humanitarian aid. The minors previously receiving state financial benefits, will no longer be entitled to this form of aid.

These decisions by the Milici parliament refer to conscripts who are either in Yugoslavia or abroad, and who fail to join their units by 5 July or report to designated Defense Ministries.

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Official Criticizes Yugoslav Support for Serbs

LD2506101095 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 25 Jun 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The head of the office of the president and head of the Croatian mission for relations with UNCRO [UN Confidence Restoration Operation] sent a letter to Yasushi Akashi, special envoy of the UN secretary general, in light of the growing presence of Yugoslav army troops in the occupied areas of Croatia. The letter says that the appointment of Lieutenant Colonel General Mile Mrksic from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia as commander of the so-called Serb Army of Krajina means that Yugoslavia's personnel and weapons support for the so-called Serb Army of Krajina has been stepped up. Over the past 15 days able-bodied citizens from the occupied area of the Republic of Croatia have been speedily mobilized in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. As a result, about 4,000 people have been sent to so-called Krajina from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

In addition to the Yugoslav army's continuing help with fuel and ammunition, military hardware maintenance, and education and training of the officer cadre, units of the 12th Novi Sad Corps of the Army of Yugoslavia have been involved in organizing the defense system in the occupied areas of eastern Slavonia and Baranja. Over the last 10 days two Yugoslav army tank companies [satnija] have arrived in Slunj, and equipment for installing rocket launchers on two MI helicopters has been delivered to the airport in Udbina. An armored vehicle company has also been deployed in this area. About 2,000 volunteers have arrived in the area of Korenica. In many areas the Serbs have entered the former zones of separation. The aircraft of the Serb Army of Krajina have been taking off from Udbina airport following the NATO decision to scale down its operation to monitor Bosnia-Herzegovina airspace. The Army of the Bosnian Serb Republic has been using Mahovljani airfield near Banjaluka more and more.

In his letter to Akashi, Sarinic asks UNCRO to be consistent in carrying out its mandate and to stop the deployment and involvement of the Army of Yugoslavia in events in the Republic of Croatia. Of course, Sarinic stresses, if UNCRO, as part of the international community, fails to take effective measures to prevent the escalation of the conflict on the Croatian territory, the Republic of Croatia will be forced to use all means available to protect its state interests, Hrvoje Sarinic says in his letter to Yasushi Akashi.

Dalmatia Officials To Levy Taxes on UN Forces

AU2406164295 Paris AFP in English 1543 GMT 24 Jun 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, June 24 (AFP)—The authorities on Croatia's Dalmatian coast are to levy visitors' taxes on UN peacekeepers based in the area, a coastal daily SLOBODNA DALMACIJA reported Saturday [24 June]. According to the authorities, the only UN personnel exempt from the taxes—usually aimed at tourists—are those on a special mission.

"International peacekeepers based in Dalmatia who are not on a special mission will, from now on, have to pay visitors' taxes," the regional tourist office said, according to the daily.

Tourism—the area's main revenue earner before the Croatian-Serb war broke out in 1991—has been virtually eradicated. The region is almost entirely surrounded by Serb forces. It is linked to the rest of Croatia by only a single floating bridge.

Supreme Court Upholds Sentences on Martic, Babic

AU2406164195 Paris AFP in English 1554 GMT 24 Jun 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, June 24 (AFP)—The Croatian Supreme Court upheld sentences of 12 to 15 years for Milan Martic, a leader of breakaway Serbs in Croatia, and 18 other Serbs here, the daily SLOBODNA DALMACIJA reported Saturday [24 June]. A military court in Split, Croatia had sentenced Martic and others in absentia in 1992 for "impinging on the territorial integrity of Croatia." Martic, who has been declared "president" of the Republic of Serb Krajina, territory held by the breakaway Serbs here, and his "prime minister" Milan Babic have both been sentenced to 15 years.

Military prosecutors in Split appealed against the sentences, saying they were too lenient, the Split newspaper reported. The sentences were upheld as the United Nations tries to relaunch peace negotiations between Zagreb and Krajina authorities. Talks broke off in May, following the recapture of a Serb enclave in western Slavonia by the Croatian Army.

The United Nations hopes to bring together the military leaders of the two parties on June 30. Earlier this month, Croatian prosecutors filed a complaint against Martic and his former chief of staff Milan Celeketic with the international tribunal for alleged war crimes following the bombing of Zagreb in response to the Croatian offensive on western Slavonia. The secessionist Serbs declared their republic in December 1991 at the height of the Serbo-Croatian war.

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HNS Loses Members to Ruling Party

AU2606092795 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Jun 95 p 8

[Article by R. Bajrusi: "Breach or Rebirth?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Zagreb—What is happening with the Croatian People's Party [HNS], which used to be a very strong force on the Croatian opposition scene, but today, after the departure of three assembly deputies, resembles the leftovers of the leftovers of former populists, who were headed by the leading woman of Croatia, namely Savka Dabcevic-Kucar. This has been one of the most frequently repeated questions in the past several days, which have been characterized by many transfers on the political scene. Still, probably the most significant are the departures of Ivica Vrkic and Mirko Tankosic, who have switched to the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ], and of Slavko Mestrovic. The latter, however, in contrast to the former two, has not decided yet which party to join.

As Slavko Mestrovic, director of the coke plant in Bakar and until recently member of the party's top leadership, told us in a telephone conversation, the main reason is that in the past six months the HNS has been functioning as a private firm of Radimir Cacic, who, according to Mestrovic, has pushed to the front rank his hireling Stijepo Martinovic. Such a view, Mestrovic claims, is not isolated. On the contrary, it is shared by many, as is confirmed by the departures of the majority of members of the party's branch in Rijeka, who stated as their reason the party leadership's deviation from the populist policy. This can be seen primarily in the support given to the Z-4 plan, which, in the critics' opinion, is unacceptable, as well as in Cacic's statements that Knin is not interesting to Croatia at all and in the lukewarm support given to the action in western Slavonia. Therefore the current events are quite understandable and expected, and de facto they are the continuation of the series of departures that came about in the party after the 1992 elections, when Mate Mestrovic, Zuzul, Misetic, and Vrsaljko left the party, and which also bears witness to the general rift in the HNS. The majority of members, Mestrovic points out, are aware of that, apart from a few exceptions, such as former chairman Dabcevic-Kucar, who, for reasons known only to her, does not want to admit what is happening in the HNS. However, be that as it may, Mestrovic anticipates that the current events will not remain limited to the HNS, but can be expected to happen within one year at the latest in some other opposition parties, and in the Croatian Socialist Liberal Party before any other.

In the opinion of Dragutin Haramija, chairman of the HNS Council and one of the leaders of the Croatian Spring [democratic movement in Croatia in 1970's under communist rule] despite the departures that have raised a lot of dust in the media, nothing terrible is happening in the party, primarily because those departures were not prompted by the alleged deviation from HNS policy, but rather by frustrated personal aspirations and the awareness that they are impossible to achieve. Therefore all the criticisms of the leadership are groundless, because in the HNS no deviation has come about, but the issue rather has to do with some already existing principles of HNS policy that have become topical again after having sustained many criticisms, and it is not necessary to change them.

At the same time, Haramija claims, it is also about a blatant attempt by the ruling party to destabilize the HNS and other opposition parties. That is, the HDZ majority in the Assembly guarantees to the ruling party anything but the definite passage of some bills which will be placed on the agenda soon. This refers in the first place to the bill regarding future elections, so that by inviting opposition deputies to change allegiances, in parallel with the destabilization of their original parties, the ruling party is stabilizing its own lines. However, no matter how ominous expectations are, going as far as to announce a definite breach, the departure of the three assembly deputies and other party members will not frustrate the HNS in preparing for elections and lead to destabilization of the party. "Which, in other words, means going beyond the (expected?) threshold of 5 percent and keeping the status of a parliamentary party," Haramija says optimistically.

Whether his optimism is well founded or not will be seen in the next elections, being the reason for the current transfers, as well as to whom they will bring more benefit—to the parties that have just remained without their deputies, or to their new coworkers.

Opposition Joins HDZ

AU2306175095 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 15 Jun 95 p 5

[Article by Darko Djuretek: "Clearing Up in the Political Center"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The defections of some prominent parliament representatives from opposition parties, from where they originate, to the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] have brought some liveliness into the Croatian political scene recently. All this is happening at a time when the opposition, as the opposition party leaders themselves emphasize, is seriously preparing for

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the election campaign, but also at a time when the opinion polls show that the popularity of the HDZ, the party in power, is growing.

HDZ members, as far as the elections are concerned, are calm and self-assured, but they are not asleep. They are skimming the political cream. While their political opponents from the opposition are preparing for the elections, and simultaneously some of them are facing smaller or bigger shocks within their own ranks, the HDZ members are using their opponents' weaknesses and strengthening their own party, which is the wisest thing one can do in a political race. From Great Croats' Square [address of HDZ headquarters], where they obviously express their satisfaction, there are announcements that this is still not the end of the story about party transfers.

It would be wrong to conclude that all the transfers to the HDZ happened overnight, because nothing is accidental in a political race. The contacts between a party and individuals from the competing "houses" are constant, but that, reasonably enough, is not always heard or seen by the public. There are large-scale negotiations and, at this moment, there is no doubt that the HDZ has come out ahead in the business.

Transfers So Far

And while a common observer finds all this very complicated and is confused by watching the almost sensational political transfers, those who know a bit more about it do not think of them as major or unexpected surprises. They say that the real surprises are perhaps yet to be seen. The present situation is just the flexing of muscles.

Let us remind ourselves of some of the transfers so far. Once, Dr. Josip Stojanovic, a prominent HSS [Croatian Peasants Party] member, first left that party, than he was active for a short time in the "Kasina initiative," but in the end, along with a number of like-minded HSS members, he joined the HDZ. Mirko Madjor, a member of parliament and one of the former heads of the HSS, also left his party. First, he was an independent in the Croatian Parliament House of Representatives, but later he also joined the HDZ. The HNS [Croatian National Party], like the HSS, wanted to see itself in the Croatian political center, but it has also had some significant internal personnel changes. Recently, Ivica Vrkic left that party and joined the HDZ, and now Mirko Tankosic has done the same. Slavko Mestrovic, one of the founders of the HNS, has also left the party. However, he is not the last of those who have joined the leading Croatian political party. Denis Jelenkovic, representative in the Croatian Parliament House of Counties, has left the IDS [Istrian Democratic Congress] and also become an HDZ member.

Arguments Speak

Should one analyze the situation more carefully, one can see that, after former HDZ members Stipe Mesic and Josip Manolic founded the HND [Croatian Independent Democrats], which has been accused by the party in power of unsuccessful attempts to overthrow the HDZ and destabilize the Croatian state on many occasions, the HDZ started the offensive that is slowly coming to a culmination. As it can now be seen, the HDZ has strengthened not only its internal structure, but also increased its popularity among the public. Such a judgment is probably not going to be accepted by the opposition parties, but the facts and arguments speak for themselves. Opposition parties, shaken the most by these transfers, will probably issue statements in which they will try to neutralize the losses that they have suffered. But, we will see how far they will succeed in this.

The situation on the political scene appears even more interesting if we also consider additional information about tensions within the HSLS [Croatian Social Liberal Party], the leading opposition party; that the news that Drazen Budisa offered to resign is being taken seriously and analyzed and that both the leftists and rightists are encountering misunderstandings.

The reality is such that many facts, as well as the defections to this party, indicate that the HDZ is growing stronger. Time will tell how much the opposition parties were weakened by the departure of some of their members. The HDZ has, without any doubt, become very attractive to many because of its manner of conducting state policy, which is less radical than that offered by some of the opposition parties, but which has proved efficient enough. Thus the HDZ has confirmed itself as very much the leading political power of the center, in which, as matters stand now, there is less and less place for some other parties that unduly claim the center. All in all, an interesting political race is going to develop. It is not hard to tell who has built up a convincing lead.

[Box, p 5]

Rebellion and Departure of HNS Members

An earthquake so far unrecorded in any of the Croatian political parties is shaking the HNS these. What will come about and who will suffer the damage will be seen very soon. First Ivica Vrkic, then Mirko Tankosic, and now Slavko Mestrovic have left this party. All of them were parliamentary representatives. Vrkic and Tankosic

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have already joined the HDZ, and for Mestrovic, as matters stand right now—all options are open.

If they were less distinguished politicians, not only among their party colleagues but also in the eyes of the public, everything might probably pass less painfully. Meanwhile, when they are those who were laying the foundations of the party, like Mestrovic, or who have recently been the striking force of the HNS, like Vrkic and Tankosic, then we can hardly talk about a coincidence, about some new modern orientation of the party, in which there is no place for some people, but we can surely talk about the apparent weakness of the party.

Many a distinguished HNS member was dissatisfied when Savka Dabcevic-Kucar ceded her position as HNS president to Radimir Cacic. The new president has introduced "a new style of work and publicity marketing." The old-timers, populists at heart, have, as they have repeated numberless times, expressed their growing dissatisfaction. First of all, they have pointed out that Cacic had been turning his back on populism, taking a left turn, and that it can no longer be tolerated. As an example, they have stated that the HNS was turning more and more to cooperation with the IDS and the HND [Croatian Independent Democrats]. Other examples were the stands of the leadership of the party on some crucial political issues, like the attitude toward the UN peacekeepers. Therefore there is a growing rebellion of the dissatisfied. As matters stand at present, further tremors can be expected in the party, primarily at the level of party branch offices, because the bottom of the list of those leaving the HNS has not been reached yet.

Martic Demands Croatian Withdrawal From Dinara

LD2506212495 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 2046 GMT 25 Jun 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 25 Jun (SRNA)—Milan Martic, the president of the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], said today that by attacking Mt. Dinara and the Grahovo area, the Croatian Army is trying to cut the Knin-Grahovo road that links the RSK with the Bosnian Serb Republic and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

In the "Hallmark of Times" program on Kragujevac Radio, Martic accused Croatia of "skillfully taking advantage" of the territory of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina to attack Krajina.

According to him, by launching attacks from the territory of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia is trying to avoid "a possible UN Security Council reprimand."

Martic confirmed that the RSK had agreed to a meeting of military representatives of Knin and Zagreb on 30 June, but he made the meeting conditional on the Croatian withdrawal from Dinara.

"To be honest, I do not believe in the possibility of the Croats withdrawing from Dinara," the RSK president said, and added that it was "unfair to demand negotiations while the Croats are attacking."

Martic: RSK Must Continue To Strengthen Army

LD2206193195 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1849 GMT 22 Jun 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Knin, Serb Krajina, June 22 (TANJUG)—Serb Krajina President Milan Martic said Thursday that the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] must continue to strengthen its defences and its army.

Reviewing a special militia brigade in Golubic near the Serb Krajina Capital of Knin, Martic said that strong defence was the only guarantor that the future generations, too, would remain on their ancestral lands and hearths.

He said that Serb Krajina was determined never to form part of Croatia, and that the Serb people had the strength to completely win their honourable struggle for survival and freedom and show their enemies that Serb Krajina had always been ethnic Serb space.

"We have won many battles, we shall win also those that are of crucial importance to us and prove to our enemies that they have never been, nor will they ever be, better fighters than we are," Martic said, addressing the members of the special brigade.

Martic Views Mikelic, Unification With RS

AU2606094195 Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE (Bosnian Serb) in Serbo-Croatian 15 Jun 95 p 4

[Interview with Krajina Serb leader Milan Martic by Rada Vasilijevic; place and date not given: "I Propose Karadzic as President"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Vasilijevic] Mr. Martic, can you reliably tell us whether the unification will definitely come about?

[Martic] The will of the people that was expressed in the referendum is clear. The people want to form a Serbian state and to live in one state. That Serbian state would not come about at the expense of any other people. You know that the referendum has already been conducted twice, and none of us has a right to work against the will of the people. That the international community and Belgrade disagree about the unification—we cannot do anything about that. Our assessment is that this is

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the last chance, because only by unification can we rescue ourselves from evil and our enemies, that is, the Muslims and the Croats. The people demand unification, and we who are leading the people must observe that demand.

[Vasilijevic] When will the joint assembly of the Serb Republic [RS] and the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] take place?

[Martic] For us, making concrete moves is more important than the declarative unification, we are already unifying certain institutions, and, in fact, we have already started with the actual unification. We are preparing some very crucial acts, among which the constitution is the most important, and on which our experts are already working. The unification itself will be easy to proclaim. I believe that we shall not wait long for it. It is important to do a good job and to form our unitary Serbian state, because we have had no use for the federation. Any failure would prove fatal.

[Vasilijevic] Is unification being postponed also because of the distribution of posts among the leaderships of the RS and the RSK that has been much talked about lately? Do you also aspire to some of the posts?

[Martic] Let me tell you immediately that I renounce any post, and if you are already asking me whom I consider most suitable for the position of president, then I tell you it is Radovan Karadzic. I think that is the best solution for the Serbian people. I, personally, will struggle against such individual interests. I would not mind going into a trench, or being the commander of a unit, or anything like that.

[Vasilijevic] Since we are already discussing that topic, is it possible that the paradox of Serbia recognizing Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia at the moment of the unification of the Serbs come about? I believe you agree that this is a hot topic at the moment.

[Martic] I believe that Milosevic will not recognize Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia. It would be a disastrous mistake on his part, and he cannot do that.

[Vasilijevic] How are your relations with the leaderships of the Serbian states, taking into account the apparent disagreements?

[Martic] I want correct relations with everyone, and I am ready to sacrifice my life for the interests of the Serbian people. That has been my personal determination since the beginning of the aggression against us.

[Vasilijevic] Since the beginning of the war, you have been a key person in the RSK. Have you made any mistake in all these years? Would you make the same moves today?

[Martic] I would, except for one—I would not present myself as a candidate for president.

[Vasilijevic] Would you put forward Mikelic for the position of prime minister again? What was the essence of the disagreements between you and the former prime minister of the Krajina Government?

[Martic] I was pointing to his omissions for a long time and demanding that Mikelic be removed. His policy suited Croatia's interests more than those of the RSK. Our concepts were totally opposite. Mikelic worked on Krajina's integration into Croatia, while my concept is that we cannot be in Croatia in any form, not even with autonomy. Mikelic's way of running the government differed from the interests of the people. He became involved in large-scale crime with a group of individuals, so he weakened Krajina economically. As a matter of fact, he was not in Knin at all, and he did everything from Belgrade. He was coming to Knin once a month as a tourist. I wanted our government to be the government of the people, rather than for our people to make amends for its inaction.

[Vasilijevic] It is interesting that you have come closer to Milan Babic and proposed him for the post of prime minister.

[Martic] I am glad that Babic has finally understood that disunity leads toward defeat. Unfortunately, he supported Mikelic for a long time and protected him from me and people who were very dissatisfied with Mikelic's work. However, whether because of personal goals or because of the pressure put on him by the people, Babic has eventually changed his tune at the last moment and understood that Milosevic must leave the stage as a great evil that threatens not only the people in the RSK, but also the entire Serbian people on this side of the Drina River.

[Vasilijevic] What is the current situation on the front after such a situation in the Krajina government?

[Martic] I am responsible for the inadequate choice of prime minister. However, I was in many ways hampered by the Constitution, which did not give me a possibility to remove Mikelic, even though I tried to, or to dissolve the parliament, which is a realistic possibility in some states. In order to settle the problem, I looked for help from other brotherly republics of ours, but I did not find any, unfortunately. I would not like to say much about that, for otherwise this would turn into accusations. But what can we do now? We are trying to stabilize the front after the tragic events in western Slavonia and are making efforts to strengthen our defense in order to prevent any further possible surprise. [passage omitted]

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[Vasilijevic] Do you expect Croatia to keep on attacking Serbian territory?

[Martic] They are aware that Krajina is Serbian, but they still cannot give it up, and it is quite certain that there will be more attacks. Krajina has never been a part of Croatia, and both we and the Croats were in former Yugoslavia, but we proclaimed our state before the Croats. The day of the proclamation of the RSK is 19 December, that is, St. Nicholas's Day. [passage omitted]

[Vasilijevic] Is it clear to you what kind of coexistance the League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia supports, and is it possible to live together with the traditional enemy of the Serbs after Jasenovac [World War II concentration camp run by the Croatian state] and western Slavonia?

[Martic] That is impossible. Such cohabitation is impossible. Luckily, such a life is not accepted either by the Croats or by the Slovenes, because, in view of our naivete, we would again accept something that is unfavorable for us. Thanks to them, that will not happen again. [passage omitted]

[Vasilijevic] How do you feel about Belgrade's attempt to help Baranja's secession from the RSK through Mikelic?

[Martic] I believe that will not happen, because it is not our people's desire, but rather that of a group of individuals that, I believe, we shall prevent quite successfully. [passage omitted]

[Vasilijevic] Since the West has openly sided with the Muslims and the Croats, would the Russians help the Serbs in such a constellation of forces?

[Martic] Of course they would if Russian leadership were in power. The current leadership, that is the American, would certainly not. Kozyrev is more American than any real American. We do not think that the Americans like the Muslims. In politics, love does not exist, for everything is about interests. We know how much the United States owes to the Islamic countries. The NATO air strikes were actually interest payments to the Islamic countries. [passage omitted]

[Vasilijevic] Is it already known where the capital of the future United Serbian States will be?

[Martic] That issue is still being considered. I personally wish that we unite into one Serbian state on the territory of the former Yugoslavia with Belgrade as its capital, which is the desire of all true Serbs. Until we accomplish that goal, we shall probably find a satisfying solution. I would like Banja Luka to be the transitional capital. [passage omitted]

Discord Seen Postponing Rebel Serb Unification

AU2606074295 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 10 Jun 95 p 2

[Article by Miljenko Salic: "Unification Postponed"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Ten days ago, two self-proclaimed Serb "states"—the so-called Serb Republic and the republic of Serb Krajina—were loudly announcing their unification. First it was to happen on the last day of May, then it was postponed for a couple of days, and, in the end, their leaders said that the dates of unification were not realistically given. A problem arose first regarding the model, then it was the dynamics, and finally Radovan Karadzic revealed a plan according to which portfolio ministers of the two pseudostates should meet in order to agree on the concrete programs of unification. On the same day, Milan Martic said that a formal decision on unification was not as important as work on the concrete systems of unification, especially the defense system. The respective "ministers" who were to meet on 5 June, and as far as we know did not meet, and all the talk about the pseudostate leaderships' meeting announced a long time ago, which should have followed the ministries' meetings and should have preceded a joint session of the two Serbian assemblies, stopped.

Game Stirred Up by Milosevic

When the so-called Krajina Assembly finally succeeded in overthrowing "Prime Minister" Mikelic, Milosevic's most faithful man, tand the radical wing headed by self-proclaimed President Martic took over, it was clear that Milosevic had lost control over the Serbs in Croatia as well, thus additionally endangering his "peacemaking" policy, as well as his personal prestige. It is true that Karadzic and Martic had the best in mind to unite their "independent" states, but it was soon proven that their states were not as independent as they thought.

Namely, the ministers who were supposed to meet regarding the unification are no longer ministers because "Mikelic's government" was overthrown. Self-proclaimed President Martic therefore summoned Mikelic and the "government" members to decide on their activities until a new "government" could be appointed. However, headed by so-called Foreign Minister Babic, only one group of ministers devoted to Martic arrived in Knin. "Assembly" President Lezajic joined that group and thus aligned with Babic, but we have to bear in mind that his position has so far been pretty unclear. At the same time, Mikelic refused Martic's invitation and convened his "government" in Erdut. The "defense minister" and allegedly three other "ministers" were also present. They sent a message to Martic and his people

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that they would bring criminal charges against them because of the fall of western Slavonia and violations of the Constitution.

Two facts tell us that the whole game was, of course, stirred up by Milosevic through Mikelic. Regarding the recognition of Milosevic's control over the rebel Serb army in Croatia, the first more significant fact is the presence of the defense minister in Erdut, while the second one is the absence of Mile Mrksic, the commander of the same army, from any of those sessions.

At the same time, Milosevic has in any case carried out one more move. He rehabilitated Goran Hadzic, who reactivated the so-called Coordination Board of Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srijem. This group entered the conflict with Martic as early as a couple of months ago, when the disentanglement regarding the influence within the army and the police there was taking place. This group was also supported by all the "delegates" from eastern Slavonia, who affirmed their support by boycotting the session in which a no-confidence vote was successfully carried out for Mikelic. Then, out of 84 delegates, there were only 49 of them, while from eastern Slavonia there was almost none.

Message for the Martic People

The Coordination Board, which besides President Hadzic consists of Boro Bogunovic, president of "the Republic of Serb Krajina Assembly," "delegates" Rezaca and Dokmanovic, and "Ministers" Sijan and Petkovic, has sent a message to the Martic people that they can unify with the "Serb Republic," but without eastern Slavonia because it is not, as they say, in their interest to have sanctions imposed by Serbia. One should not suspect that everything was coordinated in agreement with Mikelic and other "delegates" from there.

Moreover, Mikelic now insists that "the investigative commission tasked with determining the responsibility for the fall of western Slavonia," consisting exactly of members of the Coordination Board or those close to it, find Martic responsible.

After all this, Milan Babic is still able to keep his balance. Well-informed sources claim that he himself heads the Coordination Board, while Martic, at the same time, presents him as "the most probable candidate for the new prime minister." His position is still not perfectly clear, but it is sure that he stood up against Martic and Karadzic's unification model without turning his back on them completely. One should not forget that Babic is the president of the strongest party and that his ambitions are very high, probably higher than the position of the prime minister.

Laurels for Peacemaking

After all this, Karadzic can only retreat, as reliable sources say, with a statement that he has to make a war now and that the others should deal with the unification. In return, Milosevic rewarded him by offering him an opportunity to decently get out of the dangerous game with the UN hostages, at which, of course, Milosevic himself played the role of mediator and won all the laurels.

Martic thus remained alone, realizing that now, not only he has got no one to unite with, but also that he has got nothing to unify because he is obviously not the first man of the Republic of Serb Krajina. However, that does not mean that he is harmless. His authority is still huge, and with regard to his lack of balance, he is ready to abuse them. The two ideas fidgeting in his mind recently are clear evidence for that. Martic has very seriously threatened the so-called coordination board that he would use the army and the police in order to conquer eastern Slavonia. Besides, some intelligence sources indicate that Martic, in case of some new "Bljesak" [Flash, code name of the Croatian police action in western Slavonia], intends to fire missiles used by the Croatian Army on Serbian towns in order to force Milosevic to answer militarily and again enter the war with Croatia.

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WEU Expresses Concern Over Country's Stability

AU2306184995 Skopje MIC in English 23 Jun 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Assembly of the Western European Union [WEU] discussed the situation in former Yugoslavia yesterday. The members of the Macedonian [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] Parliament Nano Ruzin and Pance Nasev, who took part in this conference as observers, also gave their contributions in the document.

Eight items from the document deal with the situation in Macedonia, with a conclusion that "the situation in FYROM continues to be unstable and many Macedonian politicians are convinced that Belgrade and Athens are coordinating their political activities against Skopje."

The part related to the upholding of the UN sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro contains a figure of some 5,000 trucks and 1,200 tanks that have crossed from Macedonia into Serbia in the first six months of this year, carrying mostly chemicals and metals, while some 4,500 trucks and 1,500 train wagons carrying furniture, tractors and shoes, entered Macedonia from Serbia. Which ever way, the document says that "the United States and the EU have given up attempts to reinforce the sanctions in Macedonia, since the state is already suffering enormously as a result of the economic embargo from Greece."

'Incident' Reported Along Albanian Border

AU2606103395 Skopje MIC in English 23 Jun 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] A border incident took place on June 16, near the village Zirovnica, when a group of ten Albanian citizens tried to illegally cross the Macedonian [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] border. According to the Army spokesman Petar Atanasov, approximately 300 meters inside Macedonian territory, one person from the group fired a shot in the direction of the border patrol of the Macedonian army. As a sign of warning, the soldiers from the patrol fired back. Luckily, there were no victims or wounded in the incident, and the soldiers managed to apprehend eight of the men, who were surrendered to the Interior Ministry.

In the last five months this year, a total of 884 illegal crossings were registered on all borders, of which the most—386, took place on the Macedonian-Albanian border.

220 crossings have been registered toward neighboring FRY, 207 toward Greece and 61 illegal crossings toward Bulgaria.

The goods confiscated from people caught trying to illegally cross the borders amounted to 100,000 DM, in addition to 70 tonnes of fuel and 40 tonnes of flour, the Ministry of Defense reports.

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Walesa Departs for U.S.; To Meet Clinton

LD2406073495 Warsaw PAP in Polish 0641 GMT 24 Jun 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Warsaw, 24 Jun—President Lech Walesa, who this morning left for San Francisco to take part in ceremonies marking the 50th anniversary of the signing of the UN Charter, confirmed that he will meet President Bill Clinton during his stay in the United States.

Walesa told journalists before departure that he is going to talk with Clinton about Polish-American relations and the situation in the Central European states who desire integration with the European structures, including NATO.

"I do not think that President Clinton's interest in Father Jankowski's sermons goes that far," Walesa said, when asked if he expects a conversation on the matter with the U.S. president. [passage omitted]

Daily on Chinese Visit Cancellation, Trade

WS2306124695 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 21 Jun 95 p 28

[Article by Krzysztof Darewicz of Beijing: "What Is Behind the Cancellation of the Chinese Prime Minister's Visit to Poland; Reasons, Pretexts, Fears"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The visit by Chinese Prime Minister Li Peng, scheduled for 20 and 21 June, did not take place. If we take into account the fact that visits of heads of governments are preceded by lengthy preparations, the decision to cancel Li Peng's visit to our country was made at the last moment—on 15 June. Does this mean that we are witnessing an unexpected crisis in the Polish-Chinese relations? After all, we have recently seen a reconstruction of the political dialogue at the highest levels; also, many hopes have recently been pinned on our bilateral economic cooperation.

Foreign correspondents in Beijing immediately concluded that "Prime Minister Li Peng was compelled to cancel his visit to Poland because Polish parliamentarians are assaulting China for violating human rights." Official explanations, however, tend to drift toward the interpretation that the visit was cancelled because, despite the statements that had been made, Polish-Chinese economic cooperation encounters increasingly more serious difficulties; also, concrete agreements were not prepared which would have given a constructive dimension to the Li Peng visit. In this situation, the atmosphere surrounding the visit would have been deprived of all positive elements, and the accompanying commentaries would, quite naturally, have focused on the problem of human rights observance. [passage omitted on history of relations]

Attached to Principles or Susceptible?

During official talks, it is always stressed that there is no fundamental conflict of interests between the two states. This is generally true; however, there is one exception. In Poland, just like in all democratic societies, the issue of relations with China is controversial due to the problem of human rights observance. What is more, this problem appears not only in press publications or in statements by human rights activists. Quite clearly, opinions on this issue are divided among Polish politicians, which was proved by the fact that at the forum of the UN Human Rights Commission in Geneva, Poland last year voted just as China wanted it to, but this year it backed the resolution that condemned China. Also, there is a Parliamentary Forum for Tibet in our Sejm; although the forum does not consist of members of the Democratic Left Alliance, Polish Peasant Party, and the Confederation for an Independent Poland, it does include Sejm deputies of the Freedom Union, Union of Labor, and the Non-Party Bloc in Support of Reforms.

In this situation, it is no wonder that the Chinese authorities, which are oversensitive on the issue of human rights and Tibet, suspect Poland of shifting these problems to the area of bilateral relations and of "meddling in China's internal affairs." Of course, Beijing knows perfectly well the difference between the Polish and the Chinese parliament and that, unlike in China, where decisions on foreign policy are made by a narrow group of leaders and where public opinion does not play any role whatsoever, Polish foreign policy is influenced by more than just a group of leaders of one party. However, whether we like it or not, Beijing also assumes that Poland, which aims to integrate with the West, is particularly susceptible to the Western strategy of playing the "human rights card," the "Tibetan Card," or the "Taiwan card" against China. Beijing is convinced that the purpose of using these cards is to force a system transformation in China and to gain access to its vast market. [passage omitted]

China knew well that when it was announced that Li Peng would visit Poland, some Sejm deputies would begin getting ready to hand him a petition from Amnesty International or the Helsinki Foundation of Human Rights. It was also easy to guess that the visit might be accompanied by anti-Chinese demonstrations and critical commentaries in the press; it was all very likely due to the fact that many Poles remember the role Li Peng played during the developments at Tienanmen Square in 1989.

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Little Reason To Be Satisfied

If China did have reasons to fear that the atmosphere surrounding Li Peng's visit to Poland would not be very favorable and that the public and politicians would focus their attention on the problem of human rights violations, this was probably first of all because empty declarations would have had to clash with the bleak reality of our economic cooperation with China. Poland sees China, first of all, as a very promising economic partner, and statements by some Polish politicians often sound like attempts to present the temptation of the potential of the Chinese market and of the bright prospects of Polish-Chinese trade.

Nonetheless, it is time to stop cheating ourselves and saying that we can export huge amounts of investment goods to China and that our present cooperation with China has anything to do with partnership. Let us first take a closer look at the statistics, because these are merciless. The value of our exports to China dropped from $223 million in 1993 to $105 million last year. In the first four months of this year, the value of our exports to this country totaled $9 million. If this trend continues, there is a chance that our trade deficit with China will amount to $300 or even $400 million, because the declining Polish exports to China are accompanied by a highly dynamic growth of China's exports to Poland. In 1993 they totaled $248 million; last year they reached $294 million; and in the first four months of this year—$113 million, which means that China's exports to our country increased by 83 percent. Thus, we are witnessing a surprising paradox : We are fascinated by the potential of the Chinese market and we keep talking about it in terms of a market where we can sell our goods; however, we are ourselves becoming an increasingly bigger market for China.

The Chinese have every reason to be satisfied with such a development of their economic cooperation with Poland. CHINA DAILY, which apparently received the information on the canceling of the Li Peng visit to Poland too late, reported on Sunday, 18 June, that bilateral trade may exceed the level of $1 billion in the next few years, and that "it will soon regain its former splendor." The trouble is, for the time being this is only one-way movement, contrary to the declarations on partnership and on the need to balance trade. Even worse, this is often ignored by our politicians, who, during talks with Chinese partners, express satisfaction at the "development of cooperation"; they ignore the fact that aside from general declarations and "interest," the Chinese do not make any decisions concerning concrete proposals of cooperation. A good example was last year's visit to China by [former Prime Minister] Waldemar Pawlak.

We also indiscriminately accept China's arguments that we are to blame for this situation, because Polish exporters are unable to adjust to the free-market mechanisms in China and they do not understand that the Chinese authorities give companies a free hand to choose any offers and partners.

This interpretation is very convenient for the Chinese, but it is also very far from the truth. The fact that Polish exporters are able to compete and act effectively on truly free markets is proved by good results in our trade with Western Europe. However, it is quite a different story if one wants to adjust to a "market economy" in China, where one must pay with hard currencies for Chinese goods and where one must accept loans in payment of one's own products, or one is forced to conduct barter trade. If we take into account the fact that our export offer consists first of all of investment goods—such as machines, heavy equipment, industrial installations, and turnkey projects—it is no wonder that there are few exporters who are ready to accept shoes or jackets as payment for a cold storage plant or a power plant.

It is also wrong to maintain that the Chinese authorities exert no influence on import policy. Decisions concerning purchase of investment goods are not made exclusively in companies or in foreign trade centers, but must still be approved by the authorities of a province, ministry, and by central commissions. Let me give you an example. For a few years, Elektrim-Megadex negotiated a contract to sell the Chinese a power plant for $100 million; the contract was agreed with the Chinese partner, but got stuck at the level of the State Planning Commission, which makes the final decision in such cases. Thus, no one in China buys coal combines, cement mills, cold storage plants, rolling stock, etc. until they get a permit from the authorities, which have their priorities and plans.

Let us, however, leave big contracts aside, although as far as the aforementioned issue of the power plant is concerned, a letter of intent was signed during Pawlak's visit to Beijing and we could expect that at least this issue would be finally settled. Actually, both parties failed to reach an agreement on far simpler issues. For example, they failed to prepare a veterinary agreement, which was to be signed during Li Peng's visit in Warsaw. Also unresolved was the issue of China's debt (75 million Swiss Francs) which was left after the clearing trade with Poland, as well as Poland's overdue payment of the last installment of the so-called free foreign-exchange meat loan which we got from China early in the 1980's.

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Cooperation Is Not Developing Very Well

Nonetheless, it would be a mistake to hold exclusively the Chinese party responsible for the fact that our economic cooperation is not developing well and that Li Peng would not have had much to offer to us if he had come to Warsaw—well, perhaps with the exception of another shipment of Chinese clothes, shoes, and toys. We also forgot to create competitive conditions of financing our investment offer for China; we ignored the fact that investment goods offered to China by other partners are based on long-term loans which are guaranteed either by governments or by international consortia.

The previous two governments began to publicly promise that they would give China a governmental loan of $400 million so that Chinese companies could buy Polish investment goods. However, when it came to concrete decisions and the Li Peng visit was drawing nearer, it turned out that the governmental guarantees would be too great a burden for our budget and so we proposed a typical commercial loan to the Chinese. This loan is less attractive to the Chinese and the possibility cannot be ruled out that it will not be very profitable for Polish companies as well; why give empty promises, then? Actually, even if this loan finally materialized, it would take many years to pay it off; now the Chinese can earn those $400 million this year relatively easily, simply by exporting their goods to our market in return for foreign exchange.

The problem of the loan is yet another, and perhaps the most important, proof which shows that we do not have a long-term concept of economic cooperation with China and our appetite was probably premature. It also shows that both the Polish and the Chinese party would have been hard put trying to maintain that the Li Peng visit had contributed to the development of cooperation and achieved concrete fruits. Was this the real reason for canceling the Li Peng visit? Perhaps the fear that Li Peng might be criticized for violating human rights in China was yet another reason—or a pretext—for canceling the visit, to keep secret the poor state of our economic relations? It will probably be best if official organs make statements on this. However, if it is true that the Chinese prime minister's visit would have yielded poor results or none, and that the atmosphere surrounding the visit might have been unpleasant, then perhaps it is good that the visit did not take place and that both sides will now have more time to prepare for it.

According to the Chinese authorities, Li Peng's visit to Poland was suddenly canceled "for technical reasons." Beijing denied that the cancellation of the visit had to do with the criticism of the Chinese authorities for violating human rights, criticism which could be observed in Poland.

Yesterday Chen Jiang, spokesman of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, announced that the decision to cancel Prime Minister Li Peng's visit to Poland "was made as a result of consultations with Poland." [passage omitted]

Okonski Chided for Officer's Praise of Kuklinski

WS2306145395 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 23 Jun 95 p 3

[Article by Luiza Kowalska: "Does an Officer Have the Right To Praise Kuklinski?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "I would have 'defected' myself," said an officer of the Polish Armed Forces in a rightist weekly in support of Colonel Kuklinski. Deputies from the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] are asking whether the defense minister will take any disciplinary action. The minister refuses to do so.

In a lengthy article carried by GAZETA POLSKA, First Lieutenant Marek Dragan from the Pomeranian Military District wrote: "I have never considered Col. Kuklinski a traitor. Moreover, if I were in a similar situation and circumstances, I too would have 'defected.'" Back then he was a traitor in every meaning of the word, but a traitor to the faithful servants of a foreign empire. Servants—I choose not use the word slaves—held power in the Polish People's Republic against the will of the majority of our society for personal gain, resorting to force—including the Polish People's Army.

Col. Ryszard Kuklinski, a high-ranking officer of the General Staff, fled to the United States in 1981 and passed on, among other documents, confidential plans on the imposition of martial law in Poland. He was first sentenced to death, then the sentence was changed to 25 years imprisonment, and most recently the judgment was reversed and the case refiled with the prosecutor's office once again.

"Is this not a political statement?" Deputy Chairman of the Sejm Defense Commission Leszek Bugaj (Polish Peasant Party) asked in an attack on Defense Minister Okonski yesterday, waving the GAZETA POLSKA article in front of him. He was aided by his parliamentary club colleague Wladyslaw Medwid: "That lieutenant should be disciplined."

At the same session, nearly all the deputies attacked the minister for his tolerance of public statements of a political nature issued by high-ranking military commanders. The PSL deputies were the most restrained

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in their attacks. "It is easy for them to attack an ordinary lieutenant; they are afraid of the generals," whispered one of the deputies.

The defense minister promised the deputies: "I will look into the matter."

The minister's spokesman, Major Eugeniusz Mleczak, assured us yesterday that "the minister will not deal with the views of one of the many thousands of lieutenants." "We have a democracy and everyone is free to express their views, as long as they do it in their own name, and not in the name of entire institutions," Major Mleczak told us.

The defense minister never commented on the Kuklinski case, but he did say in one of the papers that he has a lot of sympathy for him.

National Security Bureau Head on KOK Meeting

LD2306132095 Warsaw Radio Zet Network in Polish 0610 GMT 23 Jun 95

[Studio interview with Henryk Goryszewski, head of the National Security Bureau and secretary to the National Defense Committee, by an unidentified correspondent; from the "Guest of Radio Zet" program—live]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Correspondent] The guest of Radio Zet today is Henryk Goryszewski, the head of the National Security Bureau and secretary to the National Defense Committee [KOK]. Good Morning.

[Goryszewski] Good morning sir, ladies and gentlemen.

[Correspondent] What was discussed yesterday, in the course of the secret session of the KOK in Helenow?

[Goryszewski] All KOK meetings are secret, since this is a body that is after all called the State [as heard] Defense Committee. [Passage omitted] All the KOK meetings have been secret.

[Correspondent] What now are the most important issues for the [word indistinct]?

[Goryszewski] Precisely, and in association with this there is nothing extraordinary. Well, quite simply, in the first part of its meeting, by yesterday this was almost three weeks ago, the KOK carried out a summary analysis of the external security condition of the state.

[Correspondent] What transpired from this analysis?

[Goryszewski] Ah, these are these kinds of, well you know, sir, that then we speak in this kind of diplomatic language: That we are in a secure, a reasonably secure, zone of Europe, though the deepening and strengthening of this security will require and requires that Poland be linked into European structures. So, there was talk of both the importance of linking into political-economic structures...

[Correspondent, interrupting] That is?

[Goryszewski] The EU, as also the military structure that NATO is. There was talk, a certain summing up was carried out of that which has been done up until now, that section of road that we have travelled, and what is before us there.

[Correspondent] This is of course this kind of diplomatic language, since we all know about this, we could guess that if security was discussed, then this was discussed in precisely this kind of way. But, really, what was talked about?

[Goryszewski] But, really, I cannot talk about the details, since the meeting is secret. [passage omitted] And so long as the KOK does not lift the category of secret from the minutes regarding a given meeting, then I hope that I will never commit the kind of error that some politicians do, and that I will not betray any of the details of this meeting. [passage omitted]

A certain analysis was carried out, so this was not a matter for making decisions. On the other hand, indeed, certain obligations were placed upon me as the secretary, as I have to carry out certain detailed analyses, present them to a meeting of the KOK, which will meet for this purpose in two months time, at the beginning of September.

[Correspondent] What will the detailed analysis be about? That which is taking place on the Polish border?

[Goryszewski] [word indistinct]

[Correspondent] What is taking place beyond our borders?

[Goryszewski] That is, inter alia, I can talk of one thing here, very generally, that both certain matters associated with, let us say, the filtering of various kinds of principles and courses of action inherited from, in this sphere, from the period before 1989.

[Correspondent] Filtering, that sounds a little...

[Goryszewski, interrupting] That is so, that means it is necessary to review what is necessary to change in these, let us say, algorithms [as heard] of behavior, so as to adapt, finally now, to this system, the new, the new structure of power, which after all differs from that dating from before 1989. I can say nothing more.

[Correspondent] But, filtering to me seems a little like vetting? I do not know if...

[Goryszewski, interrupting] No, no, no. This is not, no, no, no, no. This has nothing to do with that. This is

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only an association of the endings of these two words [przefiltrowanie—filtering; lustrowanie—vetting]. It has nothing to do with that. The point is a review of various kinds of regulations, decrees, instructions, many of which have accumulated over the years, and every now and then such a review is carried out in every state, so as to remove that which has become irrelevant, and introduce new ones, that better match the ever changing reality in their place.

[Correspondent] And you cannot betray what that is.

[Goryszewski] That is precisely what I cannot betray, that which I cannot betray [sentence as heard].

[Correspondent] What was the atmosphere in Plonsk, after all these rows that there have been recently?

[Goryszewski] I would say that, well, in fact it is not possible to so precisely say that the army was to the side of these wrangles that have taken place recently, since it was precisely accusations, accusations by the former minister of national defense in this case, that the army is trading in arms [sentence as heard]. I think that, that is, I do not just think since I must quite simply express such a view, that the Polish Army did not deserve to have such a minister as it had.

[Correspondent] That means? Is Minister Kolodziejczyk lying? Is Minister Kolodziejczyk being deceitful?

[Goryszewski] Well, you know, Minister Kolodziejczyk says that the army sold arms. The agreement on the sale of the arms is signed by his departmental director, in any case in accordance with the law. So, either the minister does not know what took place in his ministry, and in association with this does not qualify to be a minister, since whatever else may or may not be the case, a minister ought to know what takes place inside his ministry. Or he is lying. Tertium non datur. There is no third option.

[Correspondent] The disloyalty of a departmental director?

[Goryszewski] You know...

[Correspondent, interrupting] Admissible or possible? If he is lying, what is the political reason for that lie?

[Goryszewski] I do not know. You have to ask Minister Kolodziejczyk. On the other hand...

[Correspondent, interrupting] Surely you can guess?

[Goryszewski] On the other hand, whether a minister, whether this is a matter of the loyalty or disloyalty of a departmental director, then the present defense minister is the best person for that, who can quite simply take a certain document, which is called the organizational rules of the ministry, and in that document there ought to be registered what kind of decisions are undertaken at which level.

You know, I have behind me very many years of work in the administration, including also two years in the post of director of the legal department in the Ministry of Transport. Some decisions I made as a head of section, some as a director, and certain issues were reserved for the level of undersecretary of state or minister. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] But let us determine a few facts. Who sold these carriers, and where did he sell them to?

[Goryszewski] (?No). The carriers were sold to one of the African states.

[Correspondent] Which state?

[Goryszewski] On the other hand, they sold them, as I say...

[Correspondent, interrupting] Minister, which state was this?

[Goryszewski] He sold them, he sold them using a legal formula, the State Treasury sold them. For in the civil law sense, this is the State Treasury. On the other hand, the agreement was signed by the director of the department of armaments or something or another, for this is very complex structure, this name, a department of the Ministry of National Defense, from the Ministry of National Defense.

[Correspondent] But how was it that Mr. Gromoslaw Czempinski [head of the State Protection Office—UOP] knew about this, and General Wilecki?

[Goryszewski] Trade in arms is not like trading in pears, that I can go to the market place, walk past 10 stands, and choose the cheapest and best. I am encouraged to buy anything at all. To sell anything, as regards larger armaments, larger, heavier, more expensive armaments, these are sometimes many year-long efforts. I know one such case, most probably it will not finally come about, where an attempt to sell heavy armaments was initiated before I became a deputy prime minister, that is at the latest at the start of 1992—now we are in 1995, and negotiations are still in progress, and we have not sold these arms, and the partner has not decided who to buy from. Of course, then this is supported in the most various ways. I travelled, I talked, various ministers talked.

In this case, of the sale of these carriers...

[Correspondent, interrupting] How many carriers were there?

[Goryszewski] Sixty-two, in the end.

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[Correspondent] Were these modern transporters?

[Goryszewski] I will tell you in a moment, but I just have to say one more thing...

[Correspondent, interrupting] Were they sold at cost price?

[Goryszewski] In a moment, I will reply to everything, only I must clarify a very important matter. So as to sell arms in accordance with the Polish law, it is not enough to just have the agreement signed by the minister of national defense, only it is necessary to, a document is necessary that is called the license, a permit for the export of arms, export abroad. It is issued by the Ministry for Foreign Economic Cooperation, which really is a civilian ministry. All these documents have been prepared, and these decisions made. Please look at the fact that politicians...

[Correspondent, interrupting] The minister did not know? The minister did not know?

[Goryszewski] Yes. Note that politicians in the first division suddenly started to furtively withdraw from this case and support Minister Kolodziejczyk, politicians from the first division. Now...

[Correspondent, interrupting] It is politicians you are talking of now?

[Goryszewski] Yes, yes, about first division politicians.

[Correspondent] But not of President Walesa?

[Goryszewski] President Walesa never supported Minister Kolodziejczyk on this matter. Apart from that, I am speaking of divisions, and there are always several of those, and not just one team.

Now, your remaining questions. The price. Of course, again, the price is not comparable, since here we do not have this marketplace with many agents, that one person sells identical carriers at a 100 and another at 50, and so you make them cheaper. I can only speak of two matters. That these carriers were sold for a price higher after two years of their utilization, three years in fact, than they were bought for from Russia, or the still then Soviet Union. Second, taking into account what price we sold tanks to Iran for, the famous tanks...

[Correspondent, interrupting] [sentence indistinct]

[Goryszewski] A trade secret, there were a 100 and a few dozen of these tanks altogether, in the end. This price obtained for the carrier really is a very good price, for this is somewhere around two-thirds, three-quarters, approximately, of that price for the tank. That is the question regarding price.

What else am I to reply to?

[Correspondent] To the question of why it was that the then minister of national defense did not know of all this, and why he had to use the Military Counterintelligence Service? What does this tell us?

[Goryszewski] This is something else altogether. Since, if he had to use military counterintelligence that means he knew. If he had to use military counterintelligence, then you yourself say that he knew.

[Correspondent] He said that he used counterintelligence for something completely different: To find out where the leak on the Drawskio affair came from.

[Goryszewski] No, no, no, no.

[Correspondent] You do not believe in such arguments?

[Goryszewski] No, nothing, no arguments like that. I know about this, I know about this...

[Correspondent, interrupting] [Words indistinct] Kolodziejczyk?

[Goryszewski] Why do you not ask Minister Kolodziejczyk why he does not want to admit that he phoned certain generals and asked, in the spring of 1994, what do they think of such a sale, then when there was not yet a treaty...[pauses] This agreement had not yet been contracted. A second thing...

[Correspondent, interrupting] Sorry to interrupt, but you surely know, this is a political question: Who is playing, and with whom? And against who? Why?

[Goryszewski] I judge that there is a constant game against the chief of the General Staff, and against certain other politicians. Why is there this game? Well, unfortunately, in this case, there is a certain level of case in which the game is not against people, only against Poland.

[Correspondent] Who is playing against Poland and what is this based upon?

[Goryszewski] I would prefer to reply to one more thing, because if I speak of matters like who is playing against whom, someone else will come along and say that someone is playing against someone else. Let us determine the facts, for our listeners deserve to know the facts. It is not true that, first, the bugging was coincidental, since it was not a radio network conversation that was tuned into, where radio waves radiate in a circle in all directions, and it is possible to listen in by chance. This was not a conversation bugged on the radio, on the network. It was necessary to specially tune in to listen in. Second, decisions on bugging can only be made jointly by the minister of national defense and the prosecutor-general. And there was no decision like

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this. Third, when the Drawskio exercises were being exercised, and not the Drawskio dinner, for the Drawskio dinner concept appeared much later as a certain political phrase, then the instructions and orders about the organization of the course and purpose of the exercises, nowhere is there talk of the protection, of an instruction about...(pauses] Let us say, the assurance of counterintelligence protection. For, there was no need, taking into account the character of the exercise, which was open to politicians, to journalists. The introduction of counterintelligence protection? No new tactical, operational, or technical solutions were being tested. Quite simply, this was a demonstration of certain—these were to have been these kind of, let us say, overall review exercises. And, precisely, open. The only thing that was done was assurance by the Military Police, that is, let us say, and only for that reason, that if it were to transpire that this battalion is leaving for this very spectacular, yes, forcing of this lake, that it does not transpire that it comes across some mushroom pickers, yes, for this was that season in which you pick mushrooms. So that is what you have the Military Police for, which, let us say, prevents access to that part of the training ground occupied by the army and intended for the particular training session. That was all. There was no instruction, no legal instruction about radio bugging.

[Correspondent] Is this by way of saying that Minister Kolodziejczyk broke the law? Is, in essence, [words indistinct]...

[Goryszewski, interrupting] I am not a military prosecutor and it is not for me to say this. For the time being, I know which level these attempts to resolve this have got to, to find out how it came about that this bugging took place.

I am just intrigued by one thing. That I, on 16 June, sent a letter to the minister of justice with an application for the commencement of an investigation in the case of the illegal application of bugging. On 19 June my letter was delivered to the minister of justice, and on Tuesday [20 June] morning, that is less than a day later, I had already discovered that the prosecutor-general and a military prosecutor had confirmed that there was not any transgression of the law. And I, as a lawyer, am interested in how this came about that, how could he check all of this so quickly, within around 18 hours, yes? What procedures did he undertake, upon the basis of which he decided that no one broke the law? [passage omitted]

Human Rights Commission Membership Relinquished

WS2606084895 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 22 Jun 95 p 2

[Article by Cezary Gmyz and Luiza Kowalska: "Human Rights; Poland Gives In for the Sake of Good Relations With China"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Polish diplomatic services will not have a moral dilemma as to how Poland should vote on the stand on China in the UN Human Rights Commission. We will not vote at all, simply because we have relinquished our place in the commission.

Next year Poland will not be a member of the UN Human Rights Commission in Geneva. For the next entire term our place will be occupied by Belarus. Poland abandoned its place in the commission almost without a fight. As we found out from well-informed sources in the Foreign Ministry, Eugeniusz Wyzner, deputy minister of foreign affairs and an experienced diplomat in the Polish People's Republic, decided that Poland would not apply for a place in the commission at all.

"Poland is currently applying for a place in the Security Council, the most important UN organ. For this reason, we decided to focus our efforts on obtaining the status of a temporary member of this body," we were told by Jan Woroniecki, director of the Department of System of Nations in the Foreign Ministry. "It was the only reason why we gave up applying for the place in Geneva. However, Poland will have the status of an observer in the Human Rights Commission, though it will not be entitled to vote."

"It does not matter whether a country is a member of the Human Rights Commission or not when it applies for Security Council membership. It is possible to belong to both bodies at the same time and such cases are not infrequent," said an a Ministry official who wanted to remain anonymous. "The real reasons why we abandoned our place in the Human Rights Commission are dilemmas related to the fact that its members from time to time vote on stands on China."

The issue of reacting to the violation of human rights in China keeps returning to the forum of the commission. A year ago, the public was outraged by the fact that Poland abstained in the procedural vote, which was to decide whether the resolution would be discussed by the commission. Last March a vote on the resolution was finally held and Poland supported it. However, the resolution was not passed—it would have been passed if it had been supported by yet another country. After the

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vote China announced that relations with the countries which had supported the resolution would deteriorate.

"It is too bad that Poland abandoned its place in the Human Rights Commission without a fight. I doubt that Belarus will be a good defender of human rights," ZYCIE WARSZAWY was told by Andrzej Potocki, chairman of the Parliamentary Forum for Tibet.

Coalition Almost Split Over TV Chairman Issue

WS2306130395 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 23 Jun 95 p 1

[Article by Igor Zalewski, Piotr Zaremba, and "RAS": "The Coalition Suddenly Cracks"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A breakup of the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD]—Polish Peasant Party [PSL] coalition hung by a thread on Thursday night. The peasants, blackmailed by the postcommunists, approached the Freedom Union [UW] with an offer to form a joint government. The move was a response to an SLD ultimatum: PSL's nominee to head the Supreme Chamber of Control [NIK] for the price of support in recalling the current authorities of [public] television.

Dramatic developments jeopardized the governing coalition yesterday. The peasants, outraged with the conduct of their coalition partner, approached UW leaders with an offer to form a joint cabinet. UW was not interested.

The PSL move was a reaction to the tactics of SLD senators. After PSL Deputy Janusz Wojciechowski was elected by the Sejm to head NIK, he only had to be approved by the Senate. The postcommunists said: Either you promise to recall Wieslaw Walendziak as head of television, or there will be no quorum in the vote on Wojciechowski.

PSL, directed by Waldemar Pawlak himself, refused to yield. Despite the absence of SLD senators, Wojciechowski was approved in a vote of 38 to nine, with four votes abstaining. Only one person above the quorum was present.

In the morning, at a joint meeting of the presidiums of the coalition parliamentary clubs, Aleksander Kwasniewski presented the peasants with the suggested names of new members of the television board. The president was to be Boleslaw Sulik, deputy chairman of the National Radio and Television Council, affiliated with UW. Head of the first program was to be Andrzej Kwiatkowski, a television reporter supported by the postcommunists.

"We do not like Walendziak, but we are even less interested in having television run by UW and SLD," an eminent PSL politician told ZYCIE WARSZAWY.

PSL approval is a prerequisite for replacing the television management. Without two people affiliated with the peasants, it is impossible to obtain a majority on the Supervisory Board of Polish Television [TVP] that is required to recall Walendziak.

Politicians from UW denied that Kwasniewski's support for Sulik implies approval for exchanging the management of TVP. "We could accept Sulik if he guaranteed that postcommunists would not dominate television," said a UW deputy, whose views may be considered representative for the leaders of the party. "But we will not assist in removing Walendziak."

By the time this issue of ZYCIE WARSZAWY went to press, the TVP Supervisory Board, which was still in session, had not reached any personnel decisions.

In the evening, UW politicians who celebrated the namedays of several Jans, among them Rokita and Litynski—triumphed. "See, the presence of our senators which provided a quorum shows what our attitude toward Walendziak is," they told ZYCIE WARSZAWY reporters.

"This has shown SLD politicians that a different majority is possible in parliament," said one of the leading UW politicians.

'Hostility' Seen in Coalition

WS2306143395 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 23 Jun 95 p 1

[Commentary by Igor Zalewski: "Hit the Strongest One!"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Last night the dark and empty halls of parliament were the setting of a spectacle that nearly overturned the current political system in Poland. It has suddenly transpired that the coalition of the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] and the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] is rotting, and hostility between the coalitionists runs far deeper than the lust of power for which they have already become infamous.

The postcommunists, cocksure of their parliamentary supremacy and the impunity that comes with it, were given a humiliating punch in the nose. They tried to blackmail the peasants into becoming accomplices in the assault on [public television] President Walendziak. Surprisingly enough, the peasants—always willing to share the spoils—firmly refused (perhaps because the spoils they were offered were not that tempting). Since SLD cannot count on support from the Freedom Union

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[UW] as far as the television issue is concerned, President Walendziak's head will not roll.

The postcommunists were not even able to punish their unsubordinated coalition partners. Despite their absence, PSL senators succeeded in having Janusz Wojciechowski nominated as head of the Supreme Chamber of Control. They were able to do so—paradoxically—thanks to the UW politicians who voted against it.

Suddenly the almighty SLD was pushed into the corner of the ring. When postcommunist senators unanimously boycotted the vote in a demonstration, the peasants made UW an offer to establish a joint government.

Considering that the presidential elections are coming up, SLD may find itself "surrounded." It may now be attacked from all sides. The postcommunists are so powerful that informal alliances are forming against them. The principle of "hit the strongest!" is now beginning to rule.

Journalists Issue Statement on TV Independence

WS2306125195 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 22 Jun 95 p 1

[Statement issued by "independent journalists"; place and date not given: "In Defense of Television's Independence"]

[FBIS Translated Text] As independent journalists we express deep concern over declarations and actions aimed at recalling Wieslaw Walendziak, president of the Board of the Polish Television S.A. [TVP S.A.]

The independence of public television, guaranteed by the provisions of the Law on Radio and Television as well as by the principle of appointing the TVP S.A. Board for a specific term, is one of the most fundamental elements of a legal state.

If the decision to recall the directors of public television is made on the basis of unequivocally political criteria, it will spell the end of public television's independence. It will also bring into question the role of public media as one of the democratic establishments which make it possible for the public to control the authorities.

Restoration of political control over public television on the eve of the election campaign for president of the Polish Republic will upset the balance among the individual centers of power in Poland, and will aggravate the political atmosphere in our country.

[Signed] Ernest Skalski, deputy chief editor of GAZETA WYBORCZA

Maciej Lukasiewicz, first deputy chief editor of RZECZPOSPOLITA
Grazyna Minkowska, first deputy chief editor of SZTANDAR MLODYCH
Andrzej Gelberg, chief editor of TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC
Marek Krol, chief editor of WPROST
Jerzy Turowicz, chief editor of TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY
Tomasz Wolek, chief editor of ZYCIE WARSZAWY

Solidarity Chairman Predicts Strikes in Fall

WS2606123895 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 24-25 Jun 95 p 2

[Article by PAD: "Solidarity Against Commercialization"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Independent Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity ["S"] will hold strike referendums in state-owned companies by 31 August. The union is protesting the law on commercialization of these companies. According to National Commission [KK] Chairman Marian Krzaklewski, there is a good chance that the right wing will field only one candidate for president.

According to the unionists, implementation of the law on commercialization is contrary to the "Pact on Enterprises," which was signed earlier, and to the decisions made by the Trilateral Commission for Socioeconomic Affairs. It liquidates employee self-government, limits the influence of work forces on the composition of supervisory boards, and makes it impossible to implement mass enfranchisement of the people. According to Marian Krzaklewski, most of the people employed in the companies will support the idea of staging strikes. Krzaklewski quotes the results of a poll that was taken in the "Belchatow" mine. "The union will decide the form and the date of the strikes early in September," said the KK chairman.

While speaking about the presidential elections, Krzaklewski said that the Saint Catherine Covenant would field its candidate by 2 July. He did not rule out, however, that there may be two candidates. He stated that the names that are being mentioned most frequently are Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz, Adam Strzembosz, and Jan Olszewski. Then, according to Krzaklewski, a meeting should be held between the candidate or candidates of the Covenant and Lech Walesa. Church authorities should participate in the meeting, and church representatives should act as mediators there. The "S" chairman has recently discussed this with Primate Jozef Glemp. "The primate can see the need for understanding and he may be an advocate of the dialogue. I am an op-

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timist now that this talk has been held. I believe that there is a good chance that the right wing will field one candidate for president," the union leader told RZECZPOSPOLITA. He added that everything would be decided in the first half of August, when the primate returns from his vacation.

The KK has elected its presidium. New KK deputy chairmen are Jacek Rybicki of Gdansk, Janusz Tomaszewski of Lodz, and Kazimierz Janiak of Olsztyn.

Sejm Approves Two Reprivatization Bills

WS2606120095 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 24-25 Jun 95 pp 1-2

[Article by Ewa K. Czaczkowska and Jerzy Pilczynski: "Sejm Decides Form of Reprivatization; Vouchers for Former Owners"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Of the four reprivatization draft laws, the Sejm chose two which will be further discussed in commissions: the governmental draft and the draft prepared by the Polish Socialist Party [PPS]. The government rejected the presidential draft and the draft submitted by the Freedom Union [UW]. Janusz Wojciechowski, new president of the Supreme Chamber of Control, has taken his oath in the Sejm.

Two Out of Four

After the first reading of the four reprivatization bills, the deputies decided that only two would be further discussed by commissions: the governmental bill and the PPS bill. Both bills envisage only one form of compensation for nationalized property: compensation vouchers (governmental bill) or reprivatization vouchers (PPS). The PPS bill limits compensation to 30,000 zlotys. The bills submitted by the president and by UW envisioned more: more people would be entitled to compensation and there would be several forms of the compensation. The main form would be return of property in kind, and if this turned out to be impossible, people would receive other property or compensation vouchers.

Seven in Special Commission

The Sejm passed a resolution on determining the number of members of the Commission for Special Services, as well as on determining the procedure for appointing them. The commission will consist of seven members; most probably deputies' clubs have agreed that there would be two appointees of the Democratic Left Alliance, two of the Polish Peasant Party, two of the UW, and one of the Union of Labor. Names of the candidates are to be submitted within seven days in the Presidium of the Sejm by the chairpersons of the deputies' clubs or by groups of at least 35 deputies.

The Sejm also became familiar with the government's information on the situation in the labor market. [passage omitted]

Opposition Says Coalition Halting Privatization

WS2606114495 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 24 Jun 95 p 1

[Article by Bogdan Mozdzynski: "Commercialization; PSL and SLD in Favor of Halting Privatization"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The changes which Sejm deputies of the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] and the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] supported in voting on the bill on commercialization and privatization of state-owned companies might put in question the progress of privatization in Poland, the opposition believes.

Now that the extraordinary Sejm commission for examining privatization bills has ended its work, Privatization Minister Wieslaw Kaczmarek no longer recognizes the government's bill, even though he was its primary author. This is the opinion that was voiced, off the record, in the Sejm yesterday, after Deputy Bogdan Pek submitted the draft "Law on Commercialization and Privatization of State-Owned Companies" to the presidium of the Sejm.

PSL and SLD deputies introduced such changes in the draft law which may make further privatization impossible, against which, incidentally, Minister Kaczmarek warned them a few days ago. The ideas proposed by PSL's Leslaw Podkanski and then supported in the voting, limit the independence of the privatization minister. In line with the draft law, he would no longer have the power to independently make a decision to privatize a commercialized state- owned company (that is, a company which has been transformed into a Treasury-owned company); he would need the consent of the entire government. Privatization may also be curbed by leaving decisions concerning commercialization up to other ministries and to voivodes, as well as by the possibility of halting the transformations at this stage. According to the parliamentary opposition, the coalition wants to strengthen its influence in the old, nomenclature structures of management.

The commission's decisions can be altered by the Sejm and questioned by the Senate. The Freedom Union is counting on the president to veto them.

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Movement Oppposing Kwasniewski Candidacy Forms

WS2606085095 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 23 Jun 95 p 2

[Article by Jerzy Sadecki: "The Three-Fourths Initiative; A Front Against the SLD Candidate"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Preventing the election of Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] candidate Aleksander Kwasniewski is the objective of an association that is now being formed in Krakow under the name "The Three-Fourths Initiative For a President of the Majority."

"Opinion polls show that one in four Poles declares support for Aleksander Kwasniewski. We think his victory would be a tragedy for Poland. We want to prevent that by providing the remaining three-fourths of our society with convincing arguments to vote for a candidate from the anticommunist, post-Solidarity camp, especially as 46 percent of the nation is expecting groups stemming from the democratic opposition and Solidarity to unite," says Natalia de Barbaro, a member of the association's founding committee.

The "Three-Fourths Initiative" will carry out a negative campaign of sorts against Kwasniewski, and thus aid other candidates who find it awkward to criticize their opponents too often. "We want to destroy the false image Kwasniewski projects as a modern social-democrat by showing that he lies (for example on the issue of the vote on prosecuting Stalinist crimes), disowns his past, and repudiates his political allies. We will prove that Kwasniewski's campaign slogan—'We choose the future'—implies a drab future and hands over all centers of power to one political grouping," says head of the "Three-Fourths Initiative" Wojciech Modelski.

Natalia de Barbaro adds that the association's campaign will be based on fact, not on innuendo. "It will definitely not be the primitive anticommunism practiced by [Solidarity strike leader from Ursus] Wrzodak, [Chairman of the Movement of the Third Republic] Parys, or [rightist politician] Macierewicz, who our society widely rejects. We will present the voters with exhaustive information that will help them make the right decision."

In the first round of the elections, the "Three-Fourths Initiative" will not support any particular candidate. "Ecumenical" action will be taken only in the second round so as to gather as many votes as possible for the candidate that would stand against Kwasniewski. Forming a front against Kwasniewski in the first round is aimed to facilitate an agreement between anticommunist groupings.

The initiative originated in Krakow, in circles affiliated with Freedom Union's Jan Maria Rokita, who is a patron of the whole movement. "This is a civic initiative. It should not be associated with the UW," Wojciech Modelski, until recently head of the UW office in Krakow and a close colleague of Rokita, firmly stresses. Modelski assures that the new association will dissolve after the elections. It is being formed only for the duration of the presidential campaign and should not be considered a party faction. To mark its autonomy, the association will have its own headquarters, not related to any political group.

Wojciech Modelski told RZECZPOSPOLITA that serious talks are under way with eminent Poles abroad and at home representing a wide spectrum of opinions on the role they are to play in the new political initiative. He did not, however, mention any names. The association is to be registered and announce the names of its members in early July. The initiative was first called the "Antipeople's Republic Committee," but the name was dropped as it was deemed unfortunate.

Organizers of the initiative, stemming from UW, deny they were inspired by a lack of faith in Jacek Kuron's victory—a charge that is often brought against them. "Kuron has the same chances of winning as any other serious contender. Our campaign will complement his campaign," stresses Wojciech Modelski.

Poles Protest Actions of German Border Guards

LD2506140195 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1300 GMT 25 Jun 95

[FBIS Translated Text] A group of Poles who were detained by the German police yesterday have blocked the border bridge linking Slubice and Frankfurt an der Oder. The reason for this reaction is the lack of reply from the German side to the protests concerning the way the Poles were treated by the German border guards and police.

Yesterday the German police delivered to the border crossing point in Swiecko a group of about 300 Poles who were seeking work in the Frankfurt region. Their passports were taken from them. Later the passports, bearing entries ordering the Poles to leave Germany, were given back to them and the Poles were taken to the border. Their cars remained on the German side.

Several Poles were arrested. They are to appear in court in Germany tomorrow. Bundestag Deputy Ulrich Junghans says the Poles have broken the ban on employment in Germany. He has established that the German policemen had used batons and dogs without muzzles, and put sealed armbands on the detained Poles.

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The Poles say that they were employed by companies operating legally in Germany.

Romanians Detained at Polish-German Border

LD2506120895 Warsaw PAP in Polish
1057 GMT 25 Jun 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Szczecin, 25 Jun (PAP)—Officers from the Pomeranian Border Guard Detachment detained a group of 32 Romanian citizens late in the evening of 24 June. The group was in the vicinity of Kolbaskowo [border crossing point in northwestern Poland] and were attempting to cross the Polish-German border illegally, Maj Wlodzimierz Warchol said on 25 June.

The detained Romanians explained they were brought to the border by someone they did not know, who took away their identity documents. They intended to get to Germany in order to seek work and housing.

All of the detained Romanians were sent to the Romanian Embassy for new documents. They will return to Romania.

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Melescanu, Shumeyko Discuss NATO, Moldova

AU2606123395 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1000 GMT 26 Jun 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Today, Romania's Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu held a meeting with Vladimir Shumeyko, chairman of the Council of the Russian Federation, the upper chamber of the Russian Parliament.

During the talks, the sides examined the relations of Romania and of the Russian Federation with the Republic of Moldova, relations that, according to statements made both by Teodor Melescanu and Vladimir Shumeyko, stem from the recognition of the integrity, stability, and sovereignty of that state. As far as the presence of the 14th Army on the territory of the Republic of Moldova is concerned, Mr. Shumeyko said that it is necessary to find financial and judicial means for the withdrawal of the troops and expressed the determination of the Russian Federation Government to take steps in this direction.

Another subject raised during the bilateral talks was NATO expansion, which, according to the viewpoint of the chairman of the Russian Federation Council, should not be spontaneous and reckless. Mr. Teodor Melescanu said that the viewpoint of the Romanian side is that NATO expansion should be done simultaneously with developing relations of partnership between an expanded NATO and the Russian Federation.

Teodor Melescanu also expressed a critical position regarding the activity of the two Foreign Ministries, which do not keep up with political openings and grant too much attention to old files. In this respect, Mr. Melescanu asked for the support of the Russian Federation chairman to step up the finalization of political and judicial problems, including documents regarding the basic political treaty.

Mr. Shumeyko said that he will submit to the Russian foreign minister and President Boris Yeltsin a detailed report on his visit to Romania, a visit that he hopes will give a new impetus to bilateral contacts.

Today, Mr. Shumeyko has also been received by the speakers of the Romanian Senate and of the Chamber of Deputies.

Officers Accuse Iliescu of 'High Treason'

AU2306190995 Bucharest ROMANIA MARE in Romanian 23 Jun 95 p 11

["Open letter" to Romanian President Ion Iliescu signed by "a group of active and reserve officers:" "A Group of 300 Military Cadres Accuse Ion Iliescu of Ruining the Romanian Army"—last paragraph is ROMANIA MARE "note"]

[FBIS Translated Text] To Mr. Ion Iliescu, Romania's president and supreme commander of the Armed Forces:

We are addressing you in your dual capacity to manifest our dissatisfaction and disagreement regarding to the actions undertaken in the political, military, and diplomatic planes and which have led to Romania losing its independence and sovereignty. This memorandum was signed by over 300 active and reserve military cadres. It could have been signed just as well by 3,000 or even 30,000 officers. But it is not this that matters. From polls conducted in military units and commands, as well as among the reserve cadres, regarding the current situation in the ability to defend our country, the opinions that were expressed were absolutely unanimous. Namely that, within the past four to five years, you managed to steer the country into state of total dependence and servitude as never been before. For the destruction of Romanian industry, agriculture, and culture, you may put the blame on the current and former governments, ministers, or managers. But who is to blame, Mr. Supreme Commander, for the liquidation of the ability to defend the country and ensure the independence and sovereignty of the Romanian people? As you very well know, the Army is the guarantee of the defense of our country's independence and sovereignty, and that is precisely why you began to liquidate it systematically.

Mr. President, while certain countries, such as England, France, Germany, Italy, Greece, and others are strengthening their armies to suit their national interests, Romania is subjected to actions intended to make it unable to defend itself in the case of aggression. Here are just a few of the measures that have been taken lately that will inevitably lead not to the modernization of the Army, but much rather to its abolition:

1. The training period of the young military has been reduced and, during this interval, owing to the precarious technical and material conditions, as well as the disinterest manifested by many military cadres, combat training is almost nonexistent. For 1995, it was established that the number of newly drafted soldiers should be reduced by 5,000; similarly, the number of youths to be trained in military schools was also cut, so that the number of the cadres trained in such institutions will be rather a symbolic one. Out of the five military high schools, only two remained, while three of the six military academies were closed down. This year, the number of the Army troops is planned to be halved. Due to the "restructuring" and "modernization" process of the Army, the military divisions and brigades have been turned into regiments, the regiments into battalions, and the battalions

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into companies and thus thousands of posts were cut, which made thousands of cadres with a sound military training and a vast experience in conducting and organizing combat training for the troops superfluous. No fewer than 723 posts have been cut from the organization diagram of the National Defense Ministry [MApN], and the remainder are to be cut by a further 20 percent in the near future. It is no longer a secret that NATO forced us to send 75,000 military cadres into retirement or unemployment!

2. The technical and material basis that is necessary for the training of the draftees is just about to be destroyed. You have begun by liquidating our national armament and combat equipment industry. Before 1990, this top branch of Romanian industry used to ensure 80 percent of the Army's needs for airplanes, helicopters, tanks, cannons, armored vehicles, radars, and combat vessels, and used to make a yearly net profit in excess of $1.5 billion through the export of significant quantities of weapons, combat equipment, and ammunition. Acting on orders of Western military bodies, this year, the MApN will dismantle 636 tanks, 431 armored vehicles, 981 100-mm artillery guns, 30 airplanes, and so on; an action that will cost us 10 billion lei. As we all know, Romania is a poor country and this precisely why the military personnel assesses that the tanks, cannons, and armored vehicles destined to be dismantled could have been put into preservation over a long time period so that they could be used should the need arise. In the past 20 to 30 years, the Romanian people made great sacrifices to have its army well equipped with armament and combat gear, and now some irresponsible people, whose interests are not Romania's, are destroying it all.

3. The measures abolishing our research in the military domain are but another element in this general context of the liquidation of the country's defense ability. Invoking the lack of funds, the Army leadership merely earmarked 18 billion lei for research and gave orders that they should stop approaching new study themes. At the same time, so far, the MApN leadership has spent 6 billion lei on preparing and equipping a field hospital and an infantry battalion deployed in Angola, and by the end of this year the money spent on maintaining this unit there will amount to 25 to 26 billion lei. What on earth is the Romanian Army doing in Angola? Whose interests does it have to defend there? In the past 2,000 years, the Romanian people and its army has never sent a single soldier to fight on foreign territories to defend the interests of other countries. The preparation work to set up a further three infantry battalions for peacekeeping operations in Africa, Asia, or the Middle East proves the intent to turn the Romanian Army into an army of mercenaries.

Mr. Supreme Commander, throughout history, this country has had many kings, rulers, and presidents. However, all of them fought, one way or another, for the protection of the Romanian people's independence and sovereignty. All of them made efforts, as great as possible, to strengthen the Army. And what did you do? Ever since you became supreme commander, you have been undertaking all kinds of measures that are continuously diminishing the Army's strength and combat ability. Do not forget that, in your capacity as supreme commander, you are responsible for the disaster currently facing the Romanian Army. Under your "REIGN" [as published] you sold it, both "wholesale" and "retail." You have put the army and the country's independence and sovereignty at the disposal of traitors to the homeland, spies, and profiteers. For such crimes of high treason there can only be one punishment.

We understand the distress of the military, and we have repeatedly warned about the deliberate destruction of Romania's defense industry in times when Hungary is arming to the teeth. However, the principal culprits are Petre Roman, Niculae Spiroiu, and a few others. On the other hand, we do not have any understanding for the threat expressed in the conclusion of the letter against President Ion Iliescu, whom we do not consider to be ill-meaning, but rather as a naive person who lets himself be influenced. For instance, his cadre policy is catastrophic: He keeps in office and promotes the dubious [General] Dumitru Iliescu of the SPP [Guard and Protection Service], but fires the patriot General Carp—on the grounds that he allegedly cooperated with us—yelling at him: "What relations do you have with the extremists?!" Oh dear, dear, Mr. Iliescu, these "extremists" have kept you in power over the past five years, so why are you whipping precisely the horse that pulls the cart?

[Bucharest ROMPRES in English at 0905 GMT on 23 June carries the following item: "I refuse to believe that there are generals and officers in the Romanian Army that would make such assessments as those included in the so-called complaint" Army General Vasile Ionel, a presidential aide, told the daily newspaper CRONICA ROMANA on the letter written on behalf of 300 members of the military staff run by the weekly ROMANIA MARE.

"The letter is sharply critical on the measures having in view the modernization of the Army, which, according to its anonymous authors, could weaken the country's defense potential."

Vasile Ionel considers that by publishing such a letter, whose genuineness is challenged by several political commentators, means an attempt to weaken the Roma-

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nian Army's combat capacity by misinformation, which can generate lack of confidence. The presidential aide also adds that the letter includes several untruths related to the restructuring and modernization of the Army and of the military education.

"The misinformation in the letter is," according to General Vasile Ionel, "extremely dangerous for the national defense." It is an attempt "to grow fear and fuel panic within the ranks of the Romanian population, which have always expressed for confidence that Romania's Army has valuable commanders," is the opinion of the presidential aide. "To which foreign power is addressing this misinformation?" Vasile Ionel ponders.

Referring to aspects related to the procedure, he urges that any issues notified by the military cadres are to be solved by way of hierarchy within the military body. "From this point of view, if any officer runs his opinions in a publication, then he violates military rules and is no more worthy of wearing the Romanian Army uniform," Vasile Ionel added.

"However, he refuses to believe that any reserve officer could make use of such form of protest concerning such major issues." Moreover, Vasile Ionel shows his surprise that the manager of the ROMANIA MARE publication, Senator Corneliu Vadim Tudor [and president of the Greater Romania Party], a member of the Romanian Senate's Defense, National Security, and Public Order Committee, has agreed to run "such a letter, with such denigrating, misinforming and, at the same time, extremely dangerous contents."]

Craiova Gendarme Troops Reportedly 'on Alert'

AU2306190695 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 17 Jun 95 p 1

[Report by A.M. PRESS: "They Were Given Live Ammunition"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The gendarme brigade troops in Craiova under the command of Major General Velicu, a brigade whose subunits are spread throughout all of Oltenia, have been on alert since 1 June of this year. Some of the troops, accompanied by armored vehicles, were deployed to Bucharest. After the alert was announced, the gendarmes were given live ammunition. The enlisted men who had finished their service and should have been sent home in May were told that they would have to continue their service for at least another month. This has created a feeling of strong dissatisfaction among the enlisted men.

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Drnovsek on EU Membership Process, Conditions

AU2306154495 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 23 Jun 95

[Report on news conference by Prime Minister Janez Drnovsek by Nadja Pengov in Ljubljana on 23 June—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Pengov] In the process of negotiations, the government fulfilled all the expectations of the European Union before the initialing of the agreement [on EU associate membership]. It has started the procedure for changing the Constitution and drafted proposed legislation that would regulate the property rights of foreigners in the way this applies for other associate members. At this stage, the Slovene Government meets all the necessary conditions for the signing of an European agreement. The government also expects that relations between Rome and Ljubljana will not be brought into the connection with the EU membership again.

The Slovene Government, Dr. Janez Drnovsek emphasized, is willing to study all open issues with Italy and find a way for their resolution. The negotiations of the plenipotentiaries are underway and will, such is his wish, continue. However, they should not influence our joining the EU associate members. The position of the Slovene Government on further negotiations is clear:

[Drnovsek] It must be made clear that we are willing to accept normal demands of the European Union, however, nothing more. We, naturally, cannot agree to any sort of bargaining on the Italian, or perhaps even the Austrian side, as to what else could perhaps be demanded from Slovenia in exchange for Slovenia becoming an EU member.

[Pengov] When asked whether there are any official Austrian demands, prime minister replied negatively, adding that there are only demands of individual politicians. In his opinion, the price offered to Italy is acceptable. A higher price is not so certain although, he believes, it is difficult to say at the moment what would constitute this something extra. We are willing to resolve relations with Italy in the best possible way, though.

What are the alternatives? The government is prepared for them and is paying great attention to international trade and economic relations. The European Free Trade Agreement and the Central European Free Trade Agreement provide scope for development, naturally, in conjunction with the European Union.

Dr. Janez Drnovsek also commented on the statement by acclaimed Slovene public personalities opposing the government proposal for amending the Constitution. If Slovenia wishes to pursue its way toward European integration, then this is a necessity, however, the changes must be gradual. We are willing to discuss full liberalization only when we join as a fully fledged member. The alternative is isolationism.

Today, the prime minister also announced that the government will initiate the procedure for convertibility of the Slovene tolar with the IMF.

Crime Prevention Agreement Signed With Austria

AU2306154195 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 23 Jun 95

[FBIS Translated Text] In Ljubljana, Slovene and Austrian Interior Ministers Andrej Ster and Caspar Einem signed an agreement on the two ministries cooperating to combat organized international crime, illegal drug trafficking, and terrorism.

On the occasion of the signing of the agreement, the ministers emphasized that the agreement will boost cooperation between the security services of both countries.

Minister Ster stressed the similarities between Slovenia and Austria, as both countries lie at the crossroads of international migration paths.

With the signing of the above agreement, which will still require ratification by parliament, our country has closed a circle of cooperation with its neighbors in this sphere; it has already signed similar agreements with Croatia, Italy, and Hungary.

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Federal

Ambassador: Croatia 'Covering Up Mass Crimes'

LD2306223395 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2146 GMT 23 Jun 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] New York, June 23 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Ambassador to the U.N. Dragomir Djokic accused Croatia of covering up mass crimes against Serb civilians in western Slavonia and demanded the UN open a thorough investigation.

In a letter to UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali, circulated Friday as an official UN document, Djokic said more than 3,000 civilians and over 1,000 poorly armed troops of the Republic of Serb Krajina were killed after they accepted cease-fire and ceased resistance during Croatia's aggression.

Djokic recalled that the Zagreb authorities, after Croatian aggression on May 1, prevented UN representatives from gaining access to the sites of the crimes in an attempt to divert attention of international public from the tragic fate of the Serb people in this region.

He said it was cynical to call the action in western Slavonia liberative, as the Croatian authorities did, when it was well-known that the region was almost fully cleansed of Serb population.

In this so-called liberative action, numerous Serb churches have been destroyed, as well as over 9,000 houses and thousands of people killed, the letter said.

Instead of affording insight into the dimensions of the crimes in western Slavonia, the Croatian authorities used fabrications, claiming that the Croats in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the Bosnian Serb Republic and the Republic of Serb Krajina were threatened, said Djokic.

He said it was clear that the authorities in Zagreb attempted to cover up all the crimes of genocide, war crimes, and crimes against humanity.

For this reason, according to him, it was necessary for the United Nations and its relevant bodies and organs to carry out an efficient and thorough investigation about the crimes committed against Serb civilians in western Slavonia and against other categories of the population protected in armed conflicts.

Jovanovic: Peace Plan If Sanctions Lifted

BR2306132995 Paris LIBERATION in French 23 Jun 95 p 9

[Interview with Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic by Jean Hatzfeld in Belgrade; date not given: "Lifting the Sanctions Would Force the Serbs To Accept the Peace Plan"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Vladislav Jovanovic is foreign minister in the Yugoslav (Serbia and Montenegro) Government of President Slobodan Milosevic.

[Hatzfeld] Three days after the release of the last UN hostage in Bosnia, what lessons do you draw from the crisis?

[Jovanovic] We had a narrow escape. Such a crisis should not happen again because no one would be in a position to master it a second time. We did everything we could to speed up the release of the UN hostages because we were at the bottom of a volcano about to erupt.

[Hatzfeld] What role did Belgrade play in the crisis?

[Jovanovic] We condemned the air strikes and the hostage taking. We spared ourselves no effort and used all our energy and time to convince the leaders in Pale (Bosnian Serbs—LE FIGARO editor's note) to free the hostages. We did so all the more since we have no normal relations with them any more.

[Hatzfeld] And you succeeded very quickly. Does it not show that you have some kind of authority over them, or even that you have them under control, contrary to what you say?

[Jovanovic] Do not forget that the talks took place in a special context. The UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force], the Muslims, the Bosnian Serbs, and ourselves were scared by the explosive nature of the events. I say the Bosnian Serbs were scared too. This shakiness made our role as mediators easier. But now that the situation is back to normal, our influence has lessened considerably.

[Hatzfeld] What are the factors that could restore your influence over Pale to convince Karadzic and his team that they should sign the peace plan, or even oblige them to do so?

[Jovanovic] The immediate lifting of the economic sanctions against Yugoslavia.

[Hatzfeld] The international community does not intend to lift the sanctions unless Belgrade recognizes Bosnia and Croatia. When and under what conditions will you be ready to recognize these two states?

[Jovanovic] Immediately, but under three conditions. First, Bosnia and Croatia should recognize the Yugoslav state, that is the least we could expect from them. Second, the status of the Serbian minorities—as defined in the peace plan—in those countries should be respected. Third, the economic sanctions must be lifted immediately and irreversibly.

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[Hatzfeld] But the Bosnian Serbs do not want to hear of this peace plan. It is a never-ending spiral.

[Jovanovic] If the international community lifts the sanctions, the Pale leadership will not wait long to accept the plan, or to give way to others who will accept it.

[Hatzfeld] How do you view the creation of the Rapid Reaction Force by France and Great Britain?

[Jovanovic] We do not view it favorably. It might lead to a global expansion of the war, which is what the extremists in both camps would like. I hope that the governments are aware of the danger which this Rapid Reaction Force might entail.

[Hatzfeld] Many people now believe that the obstacle to a peaceful solution is the leadership in Pale. Do you think Karadzic and his team can still be involved in negotiations?

[Jovanovic] Their mentality and the way they view politics, which are very rigid and not very open, add to the problem. However, we think that they should be treated on an equal footing with the other parties and not ignored. I repeat it: Lifting the sanctions would force them to accept the peace plan.

[Hatzfeld] [French President] Jacques Chirac called them "terrorists fearing neither God nor man...."

[Jovanovic] Your president made this statement in a particularly emotional context, at a time when French soldiers were being humiliated. But he has to go beyond this narrow-minded appraisal of what is happening around Sarajevo.

[Hatzfeld] Do you think that Mitterrand's departure and the coming to power of Chirac and [Prime Minister] Juppe will give new impetus to French policy in Bosnia, or harden or modify it?

[Jovanovic] We heard of Mitterrand's sympathy for Serbia but unfortunately, we have not taken much advantage of it. It is too soon to assess Jacques Chirac's neo-Gaullist policy. However, he is a new player in this conflict. He has not been involved in any previous negotiations. This is a great advantage. Only new, unprejudiced people can, with some courage, help unlock the situation.

Interior Minister Comments on Citizenship Bill

LD2306203795 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1654 GMT 23 Jun 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, June 23 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Interior Minister Vukasin Jokanovic said on Friday that a new draft bill was securing the continuity of citizenship that stems from the state-legal continuity of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Jokanovic, addressing a news conference here, said that the federal government drew up this bill on June 19 and recalled that the federal Interior Ministry was in charge for the enforcement of this enactment.

The bill stipulates the terms and procedures for the acquiring and termination of citizenship, for the regaining of citizenship, for the determination of citizenship, for the settlement of disputes stemming from republican laws in this domain, and for the keeping of records on Yugoslav citizenship.

Citizenship may be acquired by origin, by birth in the territory of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (made up of its federal units of Serbia and Montenegro), by admission, and by international agreements, Jokanovic specified.

Those to become Yugoslav citizens by force of law, as specified in this draft bill, will be the citizens of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) who enjoyed the republican citizenship of Serbia or Montenegro on the 27th of April, 1992, when the constitution of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was promulgated.

Citizens of the other republics of the former SFRY, may also by force of law become citizens of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in case they had their residence registered in the territory of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on the 27th of April, 1992, in case they do not have any other citizenship, and in case they apply for registry into the records on Yugoslav citizenship within one year's time since the date this bill takes effect.

In 1991-92, Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Macedonia seceded from the former SFRY which had six federal units, whereas Serbia and Montenegro decided to continue living within Yugoslavia.

Jokanovic pointed out that the draft bill determines the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia's obligation to protect and care for all SFRY citizens (refugees) who—because of their national or religious affiliation, their endeavours for the respect of human rights and freedoms—had escaped to the territory of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

This was why this draft bill provides for a novelty specified as admission to Yugoslav citizenship, Jokanovic explained.

Dual citizenship is not as a rule provided for under this bill excpet for extraordinary cases.

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The draft bill provides for forigners to become Yugoslav citizens on their personal request in cases they had been granted permanent residence in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, if they are employed or if they have other sources of support for themselves and for their families, and if they had not been punished to unconditional jail sentences for crimes officially prosecuted.

The draft bill does not provide for dispossession or deprivation of citizenship.

The draft bill for the first time provides for what is termed the reintegration into citizenship.

Sainovic: Economic Program 'Very Stable'

AU2506160395 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 24 Jun 95

[Interview with Deputy Prime Minister Nikola Sainovic by Dusko Petrovic in Belgrade on 24 June—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Petrovic] Mr. Federal Deputy Prime Minister, what are the signs of the stability and continuity in the implementation of the economic recovery program?

[Sainovic] The program, as you know, was adopted to bring about a decisive break from the inflation and the concept of our economy that had been developed for 50 years. The continuity in its implementation over the last year and a half—as our citizens know—is reflected in the consistent struggle to maintain the stability of the dinar, and the result of that struggle is here for everyone to see. What characterizes this struggle is that the sources of inflation are to be prevented through the stable behavior of all economic subjects and primarily the state.

[Petrovic] Yes, it is well known that 24 July last year marked the end to the deficit type of financing of the budget, of all the budgets.

[Sainovic] We have repeated this many times already, and thank you for reminding me, but I have to say that this is a huge task for the three governments in our country. It is enough just to mention the extent of the social burden that the Serbian Government has to deal with, the complexity of the defense tasks that the Federal Government has to deal with, and all this within a completely fixed budget, and within completely realistic means. You know that we bought up all the wheat last year with realistic means for the first time in 50 years, and we will do so again this year with realistic means. All the speculation about the printing of money is nothing but empty rhetorics. The program is very stable, all the governments are conducting a coordinated and clear policy, and the National Bank is conducting a firm monetary policy.

[Petrovic] The public has the feeling that there is no alternative to the economic recovery program and that there can be no backing down.

[Sainovic] There is and cannot be any backing down. I think that all reasonable people in our country understand that we have to deal with every single difficulty in our economy by confronting it and not trying to avoid it. One of the old habits in our companies has been to react to the first difficulty in production by raising the prices. Now with a stable monetary policy, the kind of money that could compensate for that does not exist. The other habit has been that as soon as there are some problems, the trade unions in our companies come out with demands for large pay increases, just at a time when the difficulties arise.

[Petrovic] Are you, as federal deputy prime minister and federal minister for agriculture, optimistic when it comes to future economic trends and the lifting of the economic sanctions?

[Sainovic] I am aware of the difficulties, and they are grave. I am also aware of our great potentials. I have reliable information that the world around us is beginning to turn to our development capabilities and outlook. Our peaceful policy is winning us both sympathy and support and it is beginning to take root even in those world centers that have hitherto so unjustly and cruelly spoken about us. Capital and businessmen do not wait. I am convinced that our peace policy will lead to the lifting of the sanctions. The recognition of this policy in the great world capitals has already brought their businessmen here, and the results of that can already be felt.

Dinar Devaluation Threatens Monetary System

AU2606081795 Belgrade TELEGRAF in Serbo-Croatian 21 Jun 95 p 2

[Article by Miketa Mirkov: "If We Do Not Do Something, the Exchange Rate of the Dinar Will Explode by Fall"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The latest street devaluation of the dinar, which occurred last weekend on the corners and doorways of Belgrade and some other cities—according to which the exchange rate of the German mark increased from 2.1 or 2.2 dinars for 1 mark to the rate of 2.4 to 2.8 dinars for 1 mark—had all the characteristics of confusion and uncertainty. Hardly anybody knew what was going on or who was pulling what strings. This time it was obvious that it was not being done from just one place. Everybody tried to do what they could. One dealer said publicly on NTV: "I profitted as much as I could possibly cheat."

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Gas vendors called "canister dealers" followed their example. They suddenly increased gas prices to 4 dinars for a liter of "super." Dealers in other goods fortunately did not react in a panicky way. Thus, a monetary stampede was avoided.

Monday and Tuesday were filled with anxious waiting.

Newspaper articles reacted in the usual way—they gave their classical explanation for the latest rise of the German mark's exchange rate: the increase of cash circulating on the streets after the pensioners had received their due pensions; the fact that those who were planning to go on vacation to Greece were now buying larger sums of German marks; the fact that these days "Super Granny" was retiring from her post of National Bank governor; the fact that farmers were now allowed to spend more oil for their needs.... [passage omitted]

The fact that this dinar devaluation was carried out nearly without any addition of freshly emitted dinars shows that the situation is not harmless. This "street" devaluation of the dinar significantly differs in three out of four crucial points from the previous one, when, in the last weekend of March, there was a sudden rise in the German mark's exchange rate, which seriously shook the entire economic system and pushed the ministers of the Serbian Government before TV cameras and to newspaper columns, threatening those who intended to increase prices.

First, before the banks closed on Friday, generally speaking, they had no money and their debts amounted to some 20 million dinars, which, of course, is much less than the allowed limit of liquidity that would enable a survival of their credit functions. When the monetary coup d'etat was carried out against the dinar's value in March, banks still had some 120 million dinars on the plus side. Second, this street devaluation was not followed by a wave of shops closing down "for inventory purposes," and consequently a sudden rise in prices. Third, the quantity of transactions between street dealers and citizens was incomparably smaller, not more than some 10,000 German marks in central Belgrade last weekend, while the buying of "grey" gas had almost stopped. Only the fourth thing is identical—fear of chaos in the monetary system can spread easily and rapidly.

That fear of hyperinflation was not as big this time, which maybe is a good thing.

All this shows that the weekend devaluation this time was not accomplished "in the presence of the government."

However, the fuse of that bomb had been set on fire months before and it has been burning slowly since. [passage omitted]

The potential danger of the dinar's exchange rate exploding exists, and it could happen any day—by no means because of pensions, farmers, the governor. But because at the moment, it is not sure what the plans for the economy are, which guidelines will be followed, what will the work in the second half will be, whether the debts of the banks will still be tolerated, what happens to the grey eminence without the knowledge of the National Bank, what will happen if the sanctions are lifted?

Working groups lead by Dr. Avram [National Bank governor] reached conclusions that are neither disputed nor enforced—after Pasic's recipe (meaning when you want to postpone something, form commissions, subcommissions, and committees). It is obvious that the governor is no longer as authoritative as he used to be, that he has no "authority" any more as he did until recently, that he no longer animates the public or answers the crucial questions (at least not in public). This street devaluation could be an opportunity, if nothing else, for the governor or someone else to explain to the people what is now going to happen to the three-year development plan commenced this year or whether it still exists or not.

The answer is known but not uttered. First, inflation, if prices continue to increase this way, will exceed 100 percent. The price of money has already illegally grown from 15 percent a year to 300 percent. Credits are quite openly given with an interest of 0.7 a day. There is no official devaluation since nobody knows whom it might do good and whom it might harm. After all, why would the dinar be devaluated by someone's decision if it has already been spontaneouly devaluated four times since the creation of the program, with a capital "p"? And in "relevant" economic head staffs, before a decision is made, there are always two factions—one stands for firm economic regulations, in which the state would have all the strings in its hands, and the market will only be trusted with areas in which supply and demand are in balance; whereas the other faction chooses the contrary. It is not sure which of them is stronger.

Our prognosis: If things remain this way, by fall the fuse will burn to the bomb.

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Serbia

Jovic: FRY Ready To Recognise Bosnia Conditionally

AU2306135095 Paris AFP in English 1248 GMT 23 Jun 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, June 23 (AFP)—The rump Yugoslavia would be prepared to recognise Bosnia-Herzegovina conditionally, but would not want to alienate the international community, the deputy leader of Serbia's ruling Socialist Party said Friday.

In remarks published by the daily INTERVJU, Borisav Jovic said the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY), made up of Serbia and Montenegro, demanded a "satisfactory political solution to the Serb issue and the lifting of sanctions against FRY."

To this end, Belgrade remained opposed to a unitary Bosnian state as sought by Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic.

But it would go along with a Bosnia-Herzegovina "made up of two entities, Moslem-Croat and Serb, both with equal state rights, including the right to a confederation with the motherland," he said.

Otherwise, the Bosnian Serbs would not receive a fair deal, he added.

"The unification of Serbian territory is...the objective of all Serbs," he stated, but it would not be achieved "in defiance of the international community."

"I don't think this unification can be achieved outside the framework of finding a political solution. This would cause us to stray from our objective and create conflict with the international community."

He criticised in this context Bosnian Serb and Croat plans to unify, saying they "threaten the whole negotiating process on a political settlement."

The five-nation international Contact Group on Bosnia has proposed a peace plan calling for 49 percent of Bosnian territory to go the Serbs, who currently control 70 percent of the country, and the rest would be for the Moslem-Croat federation.

Democratic Party on Political Solution for Bosnia

LD2306170495 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1227 GMT 23 Jun 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Belgrade, 23 June (TANJUG)—The Democratic Party [DS] concluded today that the failure of the latest Muslim offensive around Sarajevo confirmed the inevitability of a political solution to the crisis in Bosnia.

"The denouement of the crisis in Bosnia can be glimpsed because the failed Muslim offensive shows that a political solution is the only possible solution," DS spokesman Slobodan Vuksanovic told a new conference.

"The DS holds that former Bosnia-Herzegovina cannot survive as a single state, but as a loose confederation of two independent states," Vuksanovic stressed.

He said that bearing in mind the fact that Bosnia was regarded as a "miniature Yugoslavia" before this war and that it was disintegrating in the same way, "the outcome must be the same, because only that can lead to peace."

He added that the DS believes that a peaceful solution has to sort out the issue of territorial demarcation, as well as that of constitutional organization. [passage omitted]

Officials View Settlement

LD2306224395 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2205 GMT 23 Jun 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, June 23 (TANJUG)—A Serbian opposition official said in Belgrade on Friday that the collapse of the latest Muslim offensive in the Sarajevo theatre had proven that the only possible way out of the crisis in Bosnia was a political settlement.

Spokesman for the opposition Democratic Party [DS] Slobodan Vuksanovic told a press conference it was the party's position that the former Bosnia-Herzegovina was untenable as a single state, and could exist only as a loose confederation of two independent states.

Jovan Glamocanin, president of the opposition Nikola Pasic Serbian Radical Party, said on Friday that influential international factors, specifically the Western states, were beginning to realise that there could be no military solution for Bosnia.

It is becoming increasingly clear that the only way to end the crisis is by continuing and strengthening the peace efforts, Glamocanin told a press conference in Belgrade.

He said that the world was beginning to realise that the Bosnian Serbs, too, had the right to their own state, i.e. the Bosnian Serb Republic.

SPS Official Criticizes State-Run Media

AU2606074795 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Jun 95 p 8

[Unattributed report on interview with Mihajlo Markovic, deputy chairman of the Socialist Party of

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Serbia for ARGUMENT; place and date not given: "We Are Not Energetic Enough"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Speaking about reporting on the events in western Slavonia, the unofficial ideologist of the ruling party [Socialist Party of Serbia, SPS], Academician Mihajlo Markovic, quite unexpectedly criticized the editorial policy of the state-run television in an interview given to ARGUMENT:

"I was embittered that on 1 May I had to watch and listen to the media that I have never held in much esteemed to get information," Markovic said. "A similar thing happened when, on the day when Pale was bombarded, the news was released by a truly professional journalist on duty, only to disappear from news broadcasts later. The issue is not only about indifference and a lack of professionalism, but also about the unacceptabe power of some spiritual redeemer who thinks that in this way he can spare us overstimulation or aggressive moods that might—God forbid—call into question the policy of peace pursued by his company. All this is absolute nonsense. Whoever wants information will get information. The only difference is that, in the past, one got the information by listening to news broadcasts of Radio Television Serbia, while now, one will listen to or watch Studio B, which was never done before. Inevitably, all the bellicose and militant moods that the conscientious editor in chief wanted to avoid will erupt anyway. The only difference is that a part of such a revolt will also be directed against the media house, to which the viewer was always so devoted in the past, and which is now trying to deprive him of information and to brainwash him."

"Therefore, the full answer to your question is: Either out of stupidity or deliberately, such behavior by some responsible people in the media controlled by the republican government is objectively ruining the respectability of the government and its leading people," Academician Markovic said, concluding his criticism of the state-run media and their work, after which he also took a critical view of the work of his own party:

"The temporary disconnection of telephone lines and the media blockade (imposed on the Serbs across the Drina River) are very harmful moves, moves that not even the greatest enemies of the SPS are capable of understanding or following," Markovic stated. He also pointed to the very inadequate cadre policy of the SPS that was even discussed by President Milosevic in his interview for Milorad ucelic, and focused on another temporary weakness of his party:

"We have announced our fight against corruption and thievery, but we are not pursuing it energetically enough. Social differences are too great for such things to be passed over tacitly. If the citizens of Serbia start doubting whether the socialists are really serving the vital interests of the Serbian people, the lawful state, and social justice, this could lead to erosion of the massive support that we have had among the citizens so far and to unpleasant surprises in the elections for the Federal Assembly in 1996," Markovic pointed out.

Speaking about the relations between the SPS and the Yugoslav United Left [JUL], Academician Markovic explicitly underlined that, according to the statutes, there is no possibility of the socialists joining the JUL, adding:

"The very thought that the SPS, the ruling party with its 500,000 members and 170 deputies in the two assemblies, could join the JUL, which failed to win a single mandate in the elections, is absurb."

Interior Ministry on Operation Against Refugees

LD2406201095 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1903 GMT 24 Jun 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 24 Jun (TANJUG)—The Interior Ministry of Serbia tonight issued a statement that for the past 10 days it has has been checking, in an organized way, individuals who are not citizens of our country or who do not have registered residence or home or who have not regulated their refugee status.

The statement is as follows:

"In recent days various stories have been circulating among the public about the measures and activities the Interior Ministry of Serbia is carrying out as regards individuals who are illegally staying on the territory of the Republic of Serbia. In this context there are cases of the ministry being accused of carrying out a forcible mobilization of draftees to meet the needs of the Republic of Serb Krajina.

"To inform the public in more detail, the ministry states that over the past 10 days it has been checking in an organized way individuals who are not citizens of our country or who do not have registered residence or home or who have not regulated their refugee status.

"In this context it has been established that a certain number of persons from the Serb Republic and the Republic of Serb Krajina are illegaly staying in the Republic of Serbia and that they are committing criminal acts and offenses and disturbing citizens by provoking fights and other incidents. This is why measures, sanctioned under the law, have been taken against these individuals while they have been denied the possibility of illegally enjoying hospitality in the Republic of Serbia.

"The Interior Ministry expresses regret over the fact that because of incomplete data or individual shortcomings

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while taking these measures, a number, albeit small, of mistakes have been made in establishing the identity of some individuals and in implementing the measures, something that is being redressed in the course of controls.

"In the interest of the protection of public peace and struggle against crime, the Interior Ministry will continue to prevent any individual from staying illegally on the territory of Serbia."

Croatian Bureau Full of Serbs Avoiding Call-Up

AU2306170495 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 23 Jun 95

[Report by Nada al Issa from Zagreb]

[FBIS Translated Text] The bureau of the Republic of Croatia in Belgrade is crammed full with Serbs that have fled from Croatia, and are now seeking protection in the Croatian bureau from the forceful mobilization in the so-called Yugoslav Army. The victims of the mobilization are the Serbs from Croatia, who have exchanged their homes and property and moved to Serbia, but the so-called FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] is thus mobilizing foreign citizens since these Serbs—as it has been stated in Zagreb—did not renounce their Croatian citizenship when they moved to Serbia.

The Croats and Bosnians that have fled to the so-called Yugoslavia from the occupied Bosnian territories—and they say that such people exist—cannot get permission to leave the so-called Yugoslavia, which indicates that they, too, are being forcefully mobilized.

According to some information, all or at least most of the forcefully mobilized men are dispatched to the so-called Serb Autonomous Province of Krajina, and from there on to the Bihac front. The conclusion in Zagreb from all this is that the Belgrade authorities are still in favor of the military option, and that they have in fact directly ordered this forceful mobilization of the refugees from Croatia.

A paradox is happening here: The Croatian bureau is Belgrade is protecting the Serbs from Croatia from the Belgrade regime.

Novi Sad To Help Return Conscripts

LD2406155795 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1415 GMT 24 Jun 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Novi Sad, 24 Jun (SRNA)—The executive committee of the Novi Sad town assembly will offer all possible assistance in the return of military conscripts—citizens of the Bosnian Serb Republic and the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK; in Croatia]—to the free territory of these two republics, it was decided at the latest session of the assembly.

It was established at the session that, despite numerous appeals for return, there are still around 9,000 able-bodied refugees from the Bosnian Serb Republic and the RSK in the Novi Sad area.

Paper Reports 'Mobilization of Refugees'

AU2306174195

[FBIS Editorial Report] Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian on 22 June on pages 1 and 14 carries several reports on the forced mobilization of Serbs from Krajina and Bosnia-Herzegovina living in Serbia. According to a 300-word report by Z.R. from Kragujevac, entitled "They Are Even Mobilizing Those Born in Sumadija," "since yesterday, that is to say, since the evening of 20 June, there has been an 'open season on the residents of Krajina and Bosnians.' Members of the Serbian Ministry of Internal Affairs in the towns in Sumadija region have, in the past two or three nights, intensively been 'collecting' refugees and all able-bodied men who have or had any connection with Bosnia or the RSK [Republic of Serb Krajina], and have been taking them to some kind of collection centers from where they are being sent to the fronts in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia.

"According to NASA BORBA's sources, in Batocina, during the night between 20 and 21 June, among those 'mobilized' was also Dragomir Icitovic, who was born and grew up in this Sumadija town. He also worked in Bosnia for some time. After the war broke out in the central republic of the former SFRY [Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia], Icitovic returned to his native region and found a job in Zastava's 14 October plant in Batocina."

The report also quotes NASA BORBA's sources as saying that the "mobilization of refugees is well underway in Topola. It is claimed that it is mainly the people who are originally from Bosnia-Herzegovina that are being 'rounded up.'"

Ending his report, Z.R. says that "it was impossible to obtain any information in Kragujevac about the existence of the aforementioned collection center. What is indicative, however, is that the streets of the main town of Sumadija have been patrolled for several days by some 'strange policemen' with black hats. Those who have returned from the fronts in the RSK say these policemen are Krajina policemen."

According to a 100-word report by V. S., "Dusan Grujovic, of Maserin Prilaz No. 12 in Zagreb, came to Serbia as a citizen of Croatia, with a Croatian passport,

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to collect his wife at the beginning of June. In the wave of mobilization of all those who are in any way connected with Croatia, he unexpectedly found himself in Benkovac. On 16 June, he managed to telephone his relatives from there and asked them to inform the Bureau of the Government of the Republic of Croatia in Belgrade about his case. The Bureau said, however, that there was nothing they could do."

According to a 200-word report by N. Icic from Pirot, entitled "The Police Are Taking Handcuffed Youths," "the police have been involved in an action of deporting refugees to the front for a week. Men are brought to the police stations and from there, within a matter of few hours, they are taken to Nis, which is a kind of collection center. A day later, these men find themselves in the RSK. In this process, it is not important whether a person has refugee status or not. Many of these people have full-time jobs or property in Pirot, from where they originate."

In his 400-word report on the session of the Association of Refugees and Displaced Persons in Belgrade, D. Banjac writes that Gordana Dragicevic, a lawyer from Sarajevo, raised the question of the refugees' status in view of the fact that people are being "apprehended throughout Serbia, and dragged into cars...." She said that the most urgent task of the association was to "ask this question of the state of Yugoslavia, whose police are catching our children after three years of torture. It appears that they have closed the border for arms, but not for 'cannon fodder,' Gordana Dragicevic said with tears in her eyes as she did not know where her son was (he was apprehended near Sajam yesterday)."

According to a 100-word report by Z. T. from Uzice, "in the night between 20 and 21 June, 15 persons were mobilized by force in Nova Varos. Among them was also Zoran Bogdanovic, director of Trikotaza from Nova Varos and president of the Municipal Committee of the Democratic Party of Nova Varos.

"Bogdanovic was born in Belgrade. Before the war, he happened to be working in Brcko. When the war broke out, he came to Nova Varos and became very successful within a relatively short period of time in a factory that employs about 300 workers. Despite our persistent attempts to find out where the mobilized persons had been taken, we failed."

Commentary: 'U-Turn' in Russian, French Views

AU2406155195 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 24 Jun 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Now for a military-political commentary. Last week there was a U-turn in the attitude of Russia and France in connection with the war in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina. Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin characterized the NATO air strikes as the most serious of mistakes and stated that such air strikes would not be allowed again. French President Jacques Chirac showed full understanding for this view of Russia's and demanded from Izetbegovic an immediate halt to the attacks on the Serbs.

Bosko Antic has this commentary:

[Begin recording] The world public is slowly beginning to see the truth about the situation in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, and it is becoming increasingly clear that military might cannot end the conflict in this multiethnic region. Politicians and military commanders only after departing from the ground have so far spoken the truth.

This week two key people in international politics have done the same. Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin has finally uttered the well-known Russian nyet [previous word in Russian], and announced a more active Russian role in solving the crisis on the territory of the former Yugoslavia.

Russia is coming back onto both the political and the military scenes and it seems that the slumbering giant in the east is finally waking up from the slumber into which it was put by the aggressive policies of the United States.

Yeltsin characterized the bombing of the Bosnian Serbs by NATO every time they respond to attacks by the Muslims [Bosnia-Herzegovina Army] from the protected zones as a very serious mistake and said that the formation of the rapid intervention forces [snage za brzu intervenciju] could only take place with the approval of the United Nations. They have to establish peace, not impose it.

Yeltsin warned the West that Russia would not tolerate NATO's plans to expand eastward as far as possible at the expense of the countries of Central and East Europe. He thus gave warning that Russia was also aware that the territory of the former SFRY [Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] was only a springboard for this expansion toward the east, toward Russia.

Russia has been held back behind its borders for a long time. However, it is certain that such a military power cannot long remain outside world developments, constantly held in check by promises of Western aid that was promised way back to the time of Gorbachev. The tightening of the noose around Russia has led to its own security being questioned.

French President Jacques Chirac reacted in the de Gaulle style, and showed full understanding for Yeltsin's attitude. Chirac gave as an argument that one only

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had to take a walk along the streets of St. Petersburg and Moscow to understand the religious and historical ties between the Russian and Serbian peoples. Chirac explained that Yeltsin had to take into account public opinion at home.

Chirac particularly hailed Slobodan Milosevic for his contribution in the release of the blue helmets, stressing that he is an inevitable participant in all the peace actions. France strongly demanded that Alija Izetbegovic's forces halt their attacks immediately. Thus it was made clear that the old practice would no longer be tolerated: When the Muslims launch attacks, the Serbs get blamed for them, and even get bombed, and then when the Muslims start to lose, initiatives are launched for a cease-fire and the return to diplomacy.

This time—for the first time since the outbreak of the war—it has been said that the Muslims are to blame for the escalation of the war in the Balkans. True, this has been done diplomatically, but everyone knows what it is all about. Both Yeltsin and Chirac did this out of interest, primarily for the interests of their own people, thus preventing Russia and France from being kept out of touch with developments, and also preventing the United States—hiding behind NATO, and unfortunately the United Nations—from creating a new world order headed by itself, while sending its allies' soldiers into war. [end recording]

Kosovo

Trials of 116 Former Policemen Resume

AU2306183095

[FBIS Editorial Report] Pristina Kosova Daily Report in English No. 642 on 22 June carries several reports on two separate Serbian "staged" trials against 116 former employees of the Kosovo police force, charged with "having allegedly established a parallel police force in Kosovo," as well as reports on Serbian daily repression in the province.

It is reported that the trial against 72 former Kosovo policemen resumed in Pristina on 21 June, with testimonies by the defendants. Pristina-based BUJKU reports that all the accused "denied charges" and spoke about the "tortures" they were subjected to during the investigation proceedings. One of the accused told the court that "he was tortured badly" in the presence of his son and pregnant wife, who "have been suffering heavy traumas ever since." Another defendant also admitted to being "tortured severely." Another defendant "denied the charges," saying that "he had heard about the alleged Ministry of the Interior of Kosovo only when arrested." He revealed a "detailed story of the torture" by the Serbian state security officers, adding that he "was beaten up with truncheons, wooden sticks, and even electric shock" all over his body, including "head and genitals." He said "he was forced to run around his cell and hit the door with his head for over 40 times within a day until he fell unconscious." Other accused persons also "divulged similar episodes of the torture and humiliation they had faced during the investigative proceedings."

It is also reported that the trial against 44 former policemen and municipal officials of Prizren and Suva Reka resumed at the Serb-run District Court in Prizren, with testimonies by the accused. One of the defendants, a physician from Rahovec, told the court that "he had never been involved in any police activities in his whole life." However, he stated that "after successive tortures" he was "forced to admit the indictment and sign a statement the state security had compiled earlier." He was also "threatened with harsher consequences" if he told about the torture. Another defendant also "denied the charges," saying that "he was never appointed commander in chief of any police department" and that "he had heard about such things only while at the premises of Serb state security." The defendant nevertheless admitted that he "signed a statement the police wanted him to" after "being held tied to a radiator for three days" and being "beaten successively" so that he "could not bear it any more."

It is reported that the Serbian police on 16 June detained the vice chairman of the LDK [Democratic League of Kosovo] branch in Kamenica and interrogated her "for a couple of hours" about "her activities with the LDK." The Serbian police in Mitrovica arrested a 58-year-old Albanian and asked him "to hand over a revolver he allegedly was in possession of." Under the same pretext, the Serbian police detained and "ill-treated" a resident in Knin i Madh village.

Reports from Vitina say that the Serbian police on 19 June raided the home of an Albanian at Gjylekar village, who was detained and "ill-treated allegedly in connection with arms possession." The Serbian police on 20 June detained a resident in Sllatine e Poshtme village and interrogated him. The Albanian was "ordered" to report to the police station again and "hand over a revolver he was allegedly in possession of."

LDK's Hyseni Rejects 'Provincial Status'

AU2606092695

[FBIS Editorial Report] Tirana RILINDJA in Albanian on 24 June carries on page three a 1,500-word report by Behxhet Haliti on a news conference held by Hydajet Hyseni, deputy chairman of the Democratic League of Kosovo (LDK), in Prishtina on 23 June, under the title "There Can Never Be Any Going Back in Kosovo."

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In connection with the current visit of President Ibrahim Rugova to the United States and his meeting with Secretary of State Warren Christopher, other U.S. officials, and members of Congress, Hyseni is reported as stating, "We welcome the meetings of Dr. Ibrahim Rugova in the United States as an expression of the U.S. administration's continual attention to Kosovo and its cause, for which we are grateful, and a further affirmation of our policy of a fair settlement of the question of Kosovo through peaceful means."

Hyseni goes on to deplore the continuing "raids and arrests" by the Serbian authorities in Kosovo: "The campaign for the compulsory use of the Cyrillic alphabet in documents and inscriptions is continuing, covering even Albanian names on identity cards, which cannot be written in Cyrillic."

The report continues: "Nadira Avdic-Vllasi, the correspondent of the Zagreb paper VJESNIK, asked the following question at yesterday's news conference: 'What do you make of the revival of Stalinist methods in settling accounts used by people on the newspaper BUJKU, which is the organ of the LDK (!), and uses Stalinist expressions like Titoite, renegade, and so forth, and to what extent do these divisions assist democratic processes in Kosovo?'

"Hydajet Hyseni said that BUJKU is not the organ of the LDK, but an independent newspaper, no more and no less than other independent newspapers in Kosovo and elsewhere.

"We do not normally comment on newspaper articles, Hyseni said. The LDK's positions are well known, and we stress the need for greater unity among everybody in Kosovo who is in favor of a free, democratic, and independent Kosovo, irrespective of their pasts or their former allegiances. Newspaper articles represent individual viewpoints, but it must be said that such exclusiveness is not a characteristic of our press alone, and that there are reasons for articles of this kind on the basis of statements individuals have made to the Serbian press.

"Asked in this context by Sherif Konjurica, the correspondent of Albanian Radio-Television, whether the appetite for power shown by the former officials of Kosovo does not indicate that the LDK's topmost leadership is no longer politically in peak condition, Hydajet Hyseni replied that such illusions may exist, but we will be obliged to disappoint them. The LDK, he said, has maintained an open and tolerant position toward anyone who wishes to help the cause of Kosovo, and has thus also been open to people of goodwill. We intend to insist on this attitude, despite cases in which it has been misused. It would of, course, be a big mistake for individuals to imagine that, in the difficulties that face us, they will find their chance to make a comeback. There can be no reversion to the past in Kosovo, Hydajet Hyseni said. Kosovo can no longer behave like a vassal and follow people who will be in a position to create capital by striking at their own movement, their own people, and their own past in order to cater to their patrons, whoever they may be.

"Tendencies to suggest a return to some obsolete option—to autonomy or to provincial status for Kosovo, are implausible, outmoded, and highly dangerous, but to come out and offer yourself as putty to be more easily molded by others is autonomy beyond autonomy. To ask today for Kosovo to become a province [krahina] is to ask for Kosovo to become Krajina. The Republic of Kosovo is a reality that nobody can deny, Hydajet Hyseni concluded."

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